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THE
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✓ No. 437.—OCTOBER, 1913.

Art. 1.—THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF
FEDERALISM.

THE question of the substitution of a federal system of government for the United Kingdom in place of the existing unitary system has been widely discussed, but very little attention appears to have been given to an important, if not dominant, phase of this question, namely the problem of reconstructing the national finances on a federal basis. Even in high places there exists a contempt for economics which it is difficult to justify. Almost every great political question of the day will be found to rest ultimately upon an economic base; but British statesmen and politicians habitually treat finance as a secondary consideration, and appear to entertain a pious hope that somehow or other financial matters will ultimately adjust themselves on a sound and equitable basis. Illustrations of the dangers which attend such an attitude are afforded in the unsatisfactory relations that exist between national and local finance, the position of our Gold Reserves and of the Post Office Savings Bank, and the condition into which Irish finances, including Land Purchase, have been allowed to drift.

In the interesting paper which he read before the British Association in September 1912, Mr Herbert Samuel claimed that the constitution of the United Kingdom was neither federal nor unitary. There are separate judiciaries, he said, in England and Wales, in Scotland and in Ireland, the House of Lords having the characteristics of a Federal Court of Appeal. The executive, he pointed out, is largely decentralised; Scot-

land and Ireland have their own Ministers; and of the fifteen Cabinet Ministers who deal with domestic affairs, only four exercise functions over the whole of the United Kingdom. The legislature, he said, is in the main unitary, but shows several traces of federalism. The legislation which it has passed is largely decentralised, nearly one-half of the statutes applying only to parts of the United Kingdom. Now, whether Mr Samuel's dictum that the Constitution of the United Kingdom is neither federal nor unitary be correct or not, there can be no question that in fiscal matters the United Kingdom is a unit. There is only one consolidated fund for the United Kingdom, into which the gross proceeds of all taxation throughout the three kingdoms are paid. The whole system of Imperial finance is based upon the assumption that each of the three kingdoms should contribute to the common expenditure by equal taxes. When the union between Great Britain and Ireland was finally completed by the consolidation of the two Exchequers in 1816, Great Britain took over the Irish debt of 112,000,000*l.*; and it was agreed that henceforward all expenses incurred, together with the interest and charges on all debts hitherto contracted, were to be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes to be imposed on similar articles in each country, subject to such exemptions and abatements in Ireland and Scotland as circumstances might appear to demand. The final step in the equalisation of taxation in the two islands was, however, not taken until 1852, when Mr Gladstone introduced into Ireland the Income Tax, which up to that time had not been imposed there. It may be pointed out that Land Tax, Inhabited House Duty, Railway Passenger Duty and Patent Medicine Duties, are not leviable in Ireland at present.

It will be desirable now to consider briefly the main characteristics of our fiscal system. In the first place it may be said that the United Kingdom has adopted the general policy of imposing fairly heavy duties on a restricted number of commodities, and taxes on a limited number of sources of direct taxation. This policy has in the main been justified, at least so far as the yield of taxation has been concerned, because, apart from the heavy additions made to the burden of the direct taxpayer by the Budget of 1910, the growth of revenue in the past

twenty years has been largely due to the increased yield of taxes, and only in part to new taxes or to increases of old taxes. It may be claimed on behalf of this policy that it is much less expensive to collect revenues from a limited number of duties or taxes.

The tax revenue of the United Kingdom may be divided into two groups, namely, (1) direct taxes, and (2) indirect taxes. The revenue derived from direct taxation during the year ending March 31, 1912, was 82,432,000*l.*, or 53·4 per cent. of the total tax revenue. The principal sources of direct taxation were as follows: Income Tax, 44,334,000*l.*; Estate Duties, 25,182,000*l.*; Stamps, 9,564,000*l.*; House Duty, 2,110,000*l.*

The indirect taxes are comprised under the heading of Customs and Excise. For the year ending March 31, 1912, Customs yielded 33,596,000*l.*, the principal items being as follows: Tobacco, 17,342,000*l.*; Tea, 6,159,000*l.*; Foreign and Colonial Spirits, 4,216,000*l.*; Sugar, 3,059,000*l.*; Wine, 1,088,000*l.* The average amount of customs duties collected in the United Kingdom between 1905 and 1908 was 32,986,000*l.* per annum, or 15*s.* per head of the population. The average amount of customs duties collected in the principal protectionist countries during the same years was considerably less per head of population. In France the average amount was 9*s.* 2*d.* per head; in Germany 10*s.* 9*d.* per head; and in the United States 14*s.* 3*d.* per head. For the year to March 31, 1912, Excise yielded 38,250,000*l.*, the principal items being: Spirits, 18,511,000*l.*; Beer, 13,328,000*l.*; Licences, 5,556,000*l.*

The total revenue derived from indirect taxation was therefore 71,846,000*l.*, or 46·6 per cent. of the total revenue from taxation. The general tendency of Imperial finance has for many years been in the direction of placing the burden of taxation more and more upon the shoulders of the direct taxpayers. In 1871 the direct taxpayer contributed only 30 per cent. of the total tax revenue; in 1881, 35·5 per cent.; in 1891, 43·5 per cent.; in 1901, 48·8 per cent.; and in 1912, 53·4 per cent. It is not possible here to go into all the political and economic consequences which have resulted from this great change of policy, but it is a matter which deserves the close attention of all politicians and economists.

The revenue derived from services undertaken by the Crown, such as the Postal and Telegraph services, and from miscellaneous sources for the year ending March 31, 1912, was 29,970,000*l.*, making the total revenue of that year 184,248,000*l.*, or an average of 4*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* per head of the population.

It is important to bear in mind the fact that Imperial taxation falls with a widely divergent incidence upon the three kingdoms. In England and Wales the average amount works out at 4*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* per head, in Scotland at 3*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* per head, and in Ireland at 2*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* per head. The amount of revenue received from each kingdom and its division between direct and indirect taxation is shown in the following table:

YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1912.

Revenue (as contributed).

—	England and Wales.	Per cent. of total.	Scotland.	Per cent. of total.	Ireland.	Per cent. of total.
	£		£		£	
Tax revenue:						
Direct. .	71,317,000	55·7	7,513,000	46·9	2,794,000	31·1
Indirect .	56,664,000	44·3	8,627,000	53·1	6,555,000	68·9
Total tax revenue }	127,981,000		16,140,000		9,349,000	
Non-tax revenue }	23,319,000		2,503,000		1,339,000	
Total revenue }	151,300,000	83·76	18,643,000	10·32	10,688,000	5·92
Per head of population }	£4 3 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>		£3 18 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>		£2 8 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>	

Owing to the fact that the burden of taxation is being transferred from the indirect to the direct taxpayer, a disproportionate share of the burden of Imperial expenditure in recent years is falling upon the predominant partner, because direct taxation in England yields a comparatively higher return and forms a much larger percentage of the total tax revenue than it does in Scotland, or still more Ireland. In England 55·7 per cent. of the Tax Revenue is derived from direct taxation, in Scotland 46·9 per cent., and in Ireland 31·1 per cent.

The expenditure of the United Kingdom for the year ending March 31, 1912, amounted to 178,545,000*l.* The expenditure may be divided into two main groups, namely, Imperial services and Local Expenditure. (This latter must not be confused with Local Government expenditure; perhaps the term 'national local expenditure' would be better.) The Imperial Expenditure was 103,072,000*l.*, which total was made up as follows: National Debt charges, 24,500,000*l.*; Army, 27,864,000*l.*; Navy, 42,858,000*l.*; Miscellaneous, 7,850,000*l.* The 'Local Expenditure' of the Imperial Parliament for the same year amounted to 75,473,500*l.*, the items being: Education, 18,983,000*l.*; Old Age Pensions, 11,727,500*l.*; Payments to Local Taxation Account, 9,636,000*l.*; Post Office Services 20,547,000*l.*; Cost of collection of Customs and Excise, 3,951,000*l.*; Miscellaneous, 10,629,000*l.*

It is instructive to note the distribution of this so-called 'Local Expenditure' among the three kingdoms, the respective aggregates being as follows: England and Wales, 55,628,500*l.*, or 73·71 per cent.; Scotland, 8,311,500*l.*, or 11·01 per cent.; Ireland, 11,533,500*l.*, or 15·28 per cent. It will be observed that England contributed 83·76 per cent. of the total revenue, but her share of the local expenditure was only 73·71 per cent. Scotland contributed 10·32 per cent. of the revenue, but her share of the local expenditure amounted to 11·01 per cent. Ireland contributed only 5·92 per cent. of the revenue, but she received no less than 15·28 per cent. of the local expenditure. The official returns do not, of course, reveal the proportion of the expenditure on the army, navy, etc., disbursed in each kingdom, and it would be useful if these figures could be made available. It would also be instructive to know how it is proposed to apportion the National Debt between the three kingdoms. Ireland of course repudiates any share of the National Debt. Are Scotland and Wales to be allowed to take up a like position? The net result for the year ending March 31, 1912, was that, while England contributed 95,672,000*l.*, or 90·9 per cent. of the cost of Imperial services, and Scotland 10,331,500*l.*, or 9·8 per cent., Ireland had an actual deficit of 845,500*l.*, which was provided by her two partners.

In order to determine whether Imperial taxation falls

with an equal incidence upon the taxpayers of England, Scotland and Ireland respectively, it is necessary to consider the wealth and taxable capacity of each kingdom. During the past two years I have been examining this aspect of the question, and the results of my investigation are summarised in the following tabular statements:

ESTIMATED TAXABLE CAPACITY OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

	United Kingdom.	England and Wales.	England and Wales percentage of United Kingdom.
Population (census of 1911)	45,216,665	36,075,269	79·8
Gross assessments to income-tax (1909-10)	£1,011,100,344	£877,888,486	86·8
Net capital of estates liable to estate duty (1910-11)	£272,724,000	£229,701,000	84·2
Estimated national wealth	£15,882,404,000	£13,716,779,000	86·4
Estimated national income	£1,998,000,000	£1,741,000,000	87·2
Foreign trade (1910)	* £1,327,225,000	£1,107,709,000	83·5
Estimated net production returned under Census of Production Act, 1907 (including agricultural production and sea fisheries)	£919,500,000	£738,700,000	80·3

The average of the above indices is 84·03.

ESTIMATED TAXABLE CAPACITY OF SCOTLAND.

	United Kingdom.	Scotland.	Scotland's percentage of United Kingdom.
Population (census of 1911)	45,216,665	4,759,445	10·5
Gross assessments to income-tax (1909-10)	£1,011,100,344	£93,020,031	9·2
Net capital of estates liable to estate duty (1910-11)	£272,724,000	£28,313,000	10·4
Estimated national wealth	£15,882,464,000	£1,451,625,000	9·1
Estimated national income	£1,998,000,000	£174,000,000	8·7
Foreign trade (1910)	* £1,327,225,000	£88,628,000	6·6
Estimated net production returned under Census of Production Act, 1907 (including agricultural production and sea fisheries)	£919,500,000	£113,300,000	12·3

The average of the above indices is 9·54.

* Including the cross-Channel trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

ESTIMATED TAXABLE CAPACITY OF IRELAND.

—	United Kingdom.	Ireland.	Ireland's percentage of United Kingdom.
Population (census of 1911)	45,216,665	4,381,951	9·7
Gross assessments to in- come-tax (1909-10) . . . }	£1,011,100,344	£40,191,827	4·0
Net capital of estates liable to estate duty (1910-11) . }	£272,724,000	£14,710,000	5·4
Estimated national wealth	£15,882,464,000	£714,060,000	4·5
Estimated national income	£1,998,000,000	£83,000,000	4·1
Foreign or external trade (1910) }	* £1,327,225,000	£130,888,000	9·9
Estimated net production returned under Census of Production Act, 1907 (in- cluding agricultural pro- duction and sea fisheries)	£919,500,000	£67,500,000	7·4

The average of the above indices is 6·43 per cent. It is submitted that the average ratio in each table fairly represents the taxable capacity of the country concerned in relation to the United Kingdom as a whole.

From the data furnished above it will be observed that England, with a taxable capacity of 84·03 per cent., contributed, in 1912, 83·76 per cent. of the total revenue; Scotland, with a taxable capacity of 9·54 per cent., contributed 10·32 per cent. of the total revenue; while Ireland, with a taxable capacity of 6·43 per cent., contributed 5·92 per cent. of the revenue. These figures, therefore, show that there is a remarkably close approximation between the taxable capacity of each kingdom and the amount of revenue which it contributes—they show, in fact, the fairness of the present unitary fiscal system, so far as taxation is concerned. In the matter of expenditure, Ireland receives an amount greatly in excess of that to which she is entitled, either on the basis of her contribution to revenue or on that of her taxable capacity; but this is the result of special legislation, and may be attributed to political considerations into which we need not enter here. The difference is not due to any fundamental defect in the present unitary fiscal system.

On the whole, so far as finance is concerned, it may be fairly claimed that the present unitary system has worked well. It has enabled the people of the United Kingdom

* Including the cross-Channel trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

to develop and protect the British Empire and to carry through costly schemes of social reform without imposing a crushing burden upon the taxpayers. At the same time, it has ensured that the burden of taxation should fall upon each of the three great divisions of the Kingdom with a fairness of incidence that is little short of marvellous. There is no evidence whatever to support a claim that the economic interests of Scotland, Ireland, or Wales are being prejudicially affected under the present system.

Upon what grounds, then, are the people of the United Kingdom invited to break up the fiscal unity of the realm and destroy a financial system that has served so well? The considerations urged by the protagonists of Home Rule or of Federalism are (1) political, (2) economic.

As to the first consideration, at the meeting of the British Association already referred to, Mr Herbert Samuel claimed that, while we have already adopted federal principles almost wholly in our judiciary, very largely in our executive, and to no small extent in the working of our legislature, the failure to establish more complete federal arrangements has resulted in two great disadvantages. There was first, he said, the fact that the present system was regarded with dissatisfaction by the greater part of Ireland, and with increasing discontent in Scotland and Wales. Secondly, there was the fact that the central Parliament, which had not only to deal with Imperial matters, but also with every kind of business from every part of the United Kingdom above the competency of a county council, had been found quite unable to cope singly with the task; and, although its sittings were prolonged until they covered almost all the year, and discussion was limited by methods universally admitted to be open to objection, still many matters known to be ripe for settlement were left untouched, legislation was always in arrear, and the nation had to submit to its laws being worse than they might be because their single Parliament had no time to give them better.

It is not practicable or desirable to discuss here at length political considerations; but with regard to Mr Samuel's first point it may be submitted that, if a measure of Home Rule be granted to Ireland, it will be very difficult to withhold measures of self-government from the other great divisions of the Kingdom if they in turn

demand them. It will be shown in a later part of this article that the granting of measures of Home Rule to England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales on lines similar to those proposed for Ireland would *ipso facto* necessitate the breaking up of the fiscal unity of the Kingdom and would prejudicially affect the economic interests of at least nine-tenths of the people of the United Kingdom. Upon these grounds, therefore, it may be urged that, apart from political and sentimental considerations, the wishes of the minority should not prevail, particularly when we consider that in the present instance the minority are not only not contributing to the cost of Imperial services, but are actually in receipt of a subvention of about 1,400,000*l.* per annum from the majority of the inhabitants of the Kingdom. As to Mr Samuel's second point, it may be said that there is no guarantee whatever that under a federal system there would be no congestion in the Imperial Parliament or in the State Parliaments. The experiences of other federal systems point to the conclusion that, unless the government and the governed are animated by a spirit of reasonableness and conciliation, the machinery of government, no matter what its outward form, will not run smoothly. A study of the effect of federal government in the United States, the German Empire or Austria-Hungary cannot be said to warrant the conclusion that a federal system *per se* is the most perfect form of government that could be devised to meet the peculiar needs of the United Kingdom. A much better case can be made out for the institution of a federal form of government for the Empire, into which federation the United Kingdom might enter as a unit.

With regard to the financial and economic objections to the existing system it may be said at once that they are weighty. There is a certain divergence between the economic interests of England and Ireland, owing to the fact that England is essentially a manufacturing country, while Ireland is in the main still an agricultural country. It may be pointed out, however, that there is a general misapprehension as to the predominance of the agricultural interest in Ireland. The gross value of the output of manufacturing industries in that country during 1907, returned under the Census of Production Act, was 66,000,000*l.*; the materials used cost 44,000,000*l.*; and the

net output was valued at 22,000,000*l.* For the same year the agricultural output was valued at 45,000,000*l.* Moreover, the economic condition of Ireland is improving at a more rapid rate than is generally understood.

But, if the progress of Irish manufactures is likely to add to the wealth of Ireland, that country, from lack of coal and iron, cannot hope to compete with other countries more fortunately situated in these respects; and, in any case, the demands on an Irish exchequer will grow in at least equal proportion. As the Committee on Irish Finance have pointed out in their report, the theory of government which prevailed in the 19th century has passed away, and we are entering upon an era in which quite different views of the functions of government and of the employment of public revenue will be held, and of which Old Age Pensions and National Insurance may be said to be the firstfruits. Old Age Pensions alone imposed upon the Imperial Exchequer a charge in respect of Ireland which at one stroke swept away the margin of Irish revenue over Irish expenditure and left a deficit which has to be provided by her partners. It may be urged that a Home Rule Parliament would not have laid these charges on Ireland. The reply is that, in view of the new conceptions of government to which reference has just been made, such expenditure could not, in any case, be long delayed.

Whatever the objections to the existing system may be, it should be the care of prudent statesmanship to see that, in attempting to meet existing disadvantages and inequalities, we do not create fresh difficulties and embarrassments of a much graver character. In order to arrive at some conclusion with regard to the financial difficulties inherent in the application of a federal system of government to the United Kingdom, it is necessary to define, so far as practicable, what is meant in a financial sense by federal government, and how in all probability such a form of government, if adopted, would be applied to the United Kingdom.

The provision of revenue for the central government has always proved one of the most difficult problems in connexion with a federal system. It is obvious that the Federal Government must be provided with sufficient funds to enable it to carry on the functions assigned to it.

There are two clearly defined methods by which this can be done. The first is to allocate to the Federal Government certain sources of revenue, such as the Customs and Excise, beyond which it must not venture, and upon which the State Governments themselves must not trespass. Broadly speaking, this method is the one which has been adopted in the case of the German Empire, the United States of America, Switzerland, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, and the Dominion of Canada. The second course is to require the States to contribute rateably, in proportion to their wealth and population, such an aggregate amount by way of annual quotas as the Federal Government may require, it being left to the individual States to provide the amounts required in such manner as they may think fit.

The first course is open to the objection that it would render the Federal Government to a large extent free from any measure of control by the Federal States. It is open to the further objection that, if the yield of the revenues which have been assigned to the Federal Government should prove insufficient, the Federal Government would be compelled to resort to taxation within the field allocated to the State Governments, or else the State Governments must furnish quotas in accordance with the needs of the Federal Government. If the amounts of the quotas are to vary with the needs of the Federal Government, it is easy to see that difficulties of an acute and embarrassing nature must arise in the adjustment of the financial relations of the States with the central Government. The principal objection to the second alternative is that it would divorce responsibility for the raising of revenue from the body which is responsible for its expenditure. The Committee on Irish Finance have pointed out that it is a fundamental principle of sound finance that the same authority that has the spending of revenue should be made answerable for the raising of it. Unless this is done, all safeguards for the maintenance of a proper relation between ways and means and of the adjustment of taxation to the economic needs of a country are liable to be invalid.

The protagonists of Home Rule or of a federal system of government have not yet put forward any definite propositions with regard to the financial powers to be

conferred upon the English State Government; but the Government of Ireland Bill appears to indicate that an attempt will be made to institute a financial system for the United Kingdom under which the principal direct and indirect taxes will be determined by and collected by the Federal Government. Out of the revenue so collected a certain fixed quota will be deducted for Imperial services, the balance to be apportioned between the four States and handed over to them to be expended in such manner as they may think best. The Irish Government are to be allowed to levy new taxes other than Customs duties. They are forbidden to alter the main rate of the Income Tax, although they may alter the rebates, etc. They are forbidden to reduce the Customs duties, although allowed to increase them. The Bill appears to contemplate that, when the total proceeds of Imperial Taxes in Ireland exceed for three years the amount of Imperial expenditure in Ireland, there should be a revision of the financial provisions of the Bill, with the view of securing a proper contribution from Ireland towards the common expenditure of the United Kingdom; and that Ireland should then assume the control and collection of all her taxes. The prospect that Imperial taxation in Ireland will balance Imperial expenditure is under the Bill so remote that the contingency need not be seriously considered here. There is to be an Irish Post Office under the control of the Irish Government.

The latest unofficial Government of Scotland Bill provides that the powers of the Scots Parliament shall include all those conferred upon the Irish Parliament by the Government of Ireland Bill, except the control of the Post Office and the power to vary Customs and Excise, but with the addition of the administration of Old Age Pensions, National Insurance and Labour Exchanges. The power of varying Imperial taxes, excepting Customs and Excise, is conferred upon the Scots Parliament, which will in addition have the exclusive power of levying the existing Imperial taxes on heritable property in Scotland. Provision is made for the payment by the Imperial Exchequer to the Scottish Exchequer, out of the proceeds of Scottish taxes, of an annual sum towards defraying the cost of Scottish services. A Joint Exchequer Board

is to be established to determine all questions arising under the financial provisions of the Bill.

The Bill provides that some of the principal sources of direct taxation, namely Land Tax, Inhabited House Duty, Schedules A and B of the Income Tax, Death Duties and certain Stamp Duties, which at present produce an annual revenue of upwards of 4,000,000*l.*, shall be transferred from the Imperial Exchequer to the Scottish Exchequer, and that the amount to be provided by the Imperial Exchequer for Scottish services shall be diminished accordingly. It is also provided that the Imperial Exchequer shall pay to the Scottish Exchequer a sum of 500,000*l.*, diminishing in each year after the third year of payment by the sum of 50,000*l.*, until it is reduced to the sum of 200,000*l.* Under the Government of Scotland Bill introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Henry Dalziel and others in 1911 it was provided that the Imperial Parliament should continue to levy and collect all the existing direct and indirect taxes in Scotland. At the same time it was provided that Scotland's contribution towards the cost of Imperial services should be the average of the sums contributed by her during the three years that preceded the passing of the Act. The average for the three years ending March 31, 1911, was 10,300,000*l.* Under the Bill of 1913, the control of the Imperial Parliament over the sources of direct taxation in Scotland would be greatly restricted; and at the same time Scotland's contribution towards the cost of Imperial services would be reduced to the extent of 500,000*l.* for the first three years and ultimately to the extent of 200,000*l.* per annum. The capitalised value of this special grant would be approximately 7,000,000*l.* Why should the English taxpayer be called upon to make such a special grant to Scotland?

The Government of Scotland Bill (1913) affords some indication of the mischievous influence which the departure of the present Government from the principle laid down by Mr Gladstone—that Ireland should make a contribution towards Imperial expenditure—is destined to exercise upon the financial relations of England with Scotland and Wales; and it is clear that the granting of Home Rule to Ireland on the lines of the present Government of Ireland Bill will not only greatly embarrass the

British Chancellor of the Exchequer and embitter the relations of the Imperial Exchequer with the State Parliaments, but will throw the whole of the growth in Imperial expenditure upon the English taxpayer.

A rich and powerful State such as England, with a population of 36,000,000, a State which not only provides the revenue required for its own national services but contributes in addition 95,000,000*l.* (it will soon be 100,000,000*l.*) per annum for Imperial services, cannot be expected to be content with the limited financial powers which it is proposed to confer upon a State such as Ireland, whose expenditure on purely national services largely exceeds its revenue. Even the restricted financial powers to be conferred upon the Irish Parliament will necessitate the creation of a customs barrier between Great Britain and Ireland, and must ultimately lead to the complete separation of the national finances of the two islands. The Committee on Irish Finance pointed out that, even if the Customs were to remain a unified Imperial service, it would still be necessary, with a system of Home Rule, to set up machinery that would be little less irksome than a Customs barrier in order to determine the true revenue of Ireland. If this be necessary in the case of an island, *a fortiori* will it be necessary in order to determine the true revenue of England, Scotland, and Wales. At the present moment nobody knows the financial position of Wales; it is uncertain whether she meets the cost of her national services, or whether she makes a contribution to Imperial services. From a rough survey the writer inclines to the view that she contributes between 1,000,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.* per annum towards Imperial expenditure. But how is a Customs barrier to be maintained between England and Wales and between England and Scotland?

It is obvious that a federal system on the lines proposed in the Irish and Scottish Bills would ultimately mean the complete separation of the finances of the three countries and the institution of Customs barriers between them. Until the final separation there would, of course, have to be instituted a body (or perhaps three bodies) which would perform for England, Scotland and Wales the functions which the Joint Exchequer Board is intended to fulfil in the case of Ireland, namely, to determine the true

revenue and true expenditure and the net proceeds of (a) Imperial taxes and (b) State taxes, in cases where the latter consist of additions made to existing Imperial taxes. It is not necessary to emphasise the thorny nature of the questions that must inevitably arise in the course of these adjustments; and behind them stands the still more delicate and contentious question of the amount to be contributed by each State towards the cost of Imperial services. Are the quotas to be varied in accordance with the changes that may take place in the economic conditions of each kingdom? and, if Ireland is ultimately to be given full control of her own revenue when her income balances her expenditure, how is full control of revenue and expenditure to be withheld from England, Scotland and Wales forthwith, seeing that they all have a surplus for Imperial services? Again, is the representation of each State in the Federal Government to be proportionate to its contribution towards the cost of Imperial services? and, if so, what is Ireland's position to be, seeing that she makes no contribution at all?

With regard to these difficult and delicate questions, it is instructive to note that in the Report of the Committee on Irish Finance (p. 13) there is a significant reference to Austro-Hungarian experience.

'Under the Austro-Hungarian constitution of 1867 the funds required to meet Imperial charges are provided by appropriating to them the produce of the Customs, which is a federal revenue; and, for such further amounts as are needed, contributions out of other revenue are payable by the two countries in ratios that are determinable at intervals of ten years by "Delegations" representing the Austrian and Hungarian Legislatures respectively. On each occasion of revision the struggle between the two parties has been long and acrimonious, and has not been confined to the particular issue of a settlement of the ratio. But in 1897 things came to a complete deadlock; during the whole of 1897 and 1898 the Quota Delegations failed to come to an agreement, and the settlement which was at last reached, late in 1899, testifies to the keenness of the contest in the unwieldy fractions which disfigured the agreed quotas of $66\frac{1}{2}\%$ per cent. for Austria and $33\frac{3}{4}\%$ per cent. for Hungary. Meanwhile matters were even worse elsewhere. To meet the difficulty arising from the failure of the Quota Delegations to determine the respective contributions before the date at which the Ausgleich of 1887

would expire, the two Governments proposed to extend its arrangements provisionally until differences were composed. But this was met in the Austrian Parliament by such persistent obstruction that by the end of 1897 the *Augsleich* had not been prolonged nor the Customs Union renewed, and the Government had to proclaim the necessary measures by Imperial warrant. It was not until the year 1907 that the Constitution resumed its normal working, and in the interval, or for a considerable part of it, the two Governments were compelled to exercise an extra-legal authority in carrying on the business of the country.'

Even if the difficulty as to the quinquennial re-adjustment of the quotas to be contributed by each State be capable of solution, there would remain another problem of almost equal difficulty and delicacy. If, as appears highly probable, a large increase of taxation be necessary for Imperial services, in what form is this increased taxation to be raised? How is the balance to be maintained between direct and indirect taxation? This is a matter of peculiar difficulty in the case of the United Kingdom, because the yield from direct and indirect taxation varies so greatly in the three kingdoms.

The financial embarrassment in which the Imperial German Government has been placed in connexion with its proposals for financing the new measures of national defence also affords a significant illustration of the financial difficulties which would be created in the United Kingdom if the people of Great Britain were to assent to a form of federal government which would break up the existing unitary fiscal system. There are twenty-six States within the German Empire, all of which practically enjoy the right of raising revenue from direct sources of taxation in such form as they may think best. The chief part of the revenue of the Imperial Government is derived from sources of indirect taxation such as Customs and Excise; and the inevitable deficits have in the past been provided in the main by the Matricular Contributions and by loans. The Matricular Contributions, which represent the quotas required to be contributed by the individual States to the Imperial Government, are levied on a *per capita* basis without regard to the wealth and resources of each State, with the natural result that they press with unfair incidence upon the poorer States.

Now Germany finds herself called upon to provide at a moment of national crisis a sum of 50,000,000*l.*, in addition to a large permanent increase of expenditure, to perfect her defences; but the Imperial Government, which is responsible for the defence of the Empire, is confronted by a grave difficulty owing to the multiplicity of tax-levying authorities within the Empire and their want of uniformity in methods of taxation. There is practically no source of direct taxation in the usual acceptance of the term which is available for the Imperial Government and which could be universally applied so as to yield the amount required. Indirect taxation cannot be further advanced owing to the increased cost of living; and the Imperial Government has felt compelled to resort to the heroic measure of a general levy on property. Germany is a great and rich country, and her economic resources are such that under a unitary fiscal system, such as that of the United Kingdom, she would have been able to raise the amount required in a much less costly and credit-destroying form than that which she has been forced to adopt.

If a federal system of government were adopted by the United Kingdom and it became necessary to raise 100,000,000*l.* for Imperial Defence, imagine the difficulties of the Imperial Chancellor of the Exchequer! The direct sources of taxation would doubtless be allocated to the State Governments of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales; and each State Government, particularly that of Ireland, may be confidently reckoned upon to exhaust the taxable capacity of its people within a very short space of time. The burden of Imperial Defence would, therefore, fall upon the English taxpayer unless indirect taxation all round be increased accordingly. The protagonists of Federalism do not yet appear to have realised the fact that, if their proposals be adopted, it is almost certain that it will be necessary for the United Kingdom to adopt a protectionist tariff policy if only for the purpose of increasing the revenue of the Imperial Government from indirect taxation.

Another important difficulty in connexion with Federal Finance, so far as the United Kingdom is concerned, is the extent to which the national finances are interwoven with the finance of Local Government. In 1909-10,

the total sum raised in the United Kingdom by means of rates was 73,175,000*l.*, and in the same year no less than 25,179,000*l.* was contributed by the Imperial Exchequer towards the expenditure of Local Authorities. It may be said, therefore, that about 75 per cent. of the cost of local government is provided by the ratepayer and 25 per cent. by the taxpayer. It is important to note that the proportion between the amount of rates levied locally and the amount of the contribution made towards the expenses of local government by the Imperial Exchequer varies greatly in the three kingdoms. This is shown in the following table.

LOCAL FINANCE, 1909-10.

—	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
Receipts from rates.	£ 63,261,000	£ 6,613,000	£ 3,301,000	£ 73,175,000
Exchequer contribu- tions }	20,914,877	2,808,000	1,456,000	25,178,877

The ratios of Exchequer contributions to the total expenditure were as follows; England and Wales, 24·8 per cent.; Scotland, 29·8 per cent.; Ireland, 30·6 per cent.; United Kingdom, 25·6 per cent. It will be observed, therefore, that in Ireland and Scotland the ratepayer receives proportionately a much larger amount of relief from the Imperial Exchequer than does the English ratepayer. A simplification of the financial relations between the Imperial Exchequer and the Local Authorities would appear to be an indispensable preliminary to the institution of any system of federal government.

There is an Imperial aspect of this question that deserves the most careful consideration, namely, the influence which the creation of the proposed four State Governments would exercise upon the Imperial policy of Great Britain, particularly in the matter of Imperial Defence. The first duty of each State Government would naturally be the welfare of its own people, and Imperial matters would inevitably become a secondary consideration. An illustration of this is afforded by the claim urged by many Irishmen that Ireland is not in duty bound to contribute towards the cost of Imperial services,

because, even if Ireland did not exist, England would have to provide exactly the same army and navy for her own defence as the United Kingdom now feels called upon to maintain. If a National Government were instituted in Ireland, and that country became ill-affected, England would probably be forced to provide still larger forces in her own defence.

The national constitution of the United Kingdom cannot be said to lend itself to a federal form of government. England has 79·8 per cent. of the population and 84 per cent. of the national wealth; and it is inconceivable that a partner who predominates so largely would allow the economic policy of the United Kingdom to be framed in any interest distinctly hostile to her own. It will be very much more difficult for England to protect her interests if she permits the creation of three State Governments, whose interests would sooner or later bring them into conflict with those of the predominant partner. Throughout the life of the German Empire there has been a conflict, at times a bitter conflict, between the Federal Government and the State Governments, mainly as to the control of sources of direct and indirect taxation. Broadly speaking, the issue of these conflicts has been a victory for the Federal Government. But it may be pointed out that Prussia, the largest State, has only 61·7 per cent. of the population of the Empire (whereas England and Wales have 90 per cent. of the United Kingdom), and only 27·9 per cent. of the representation on the Bundesrath or Federal Council. Again, the federal system of the United States is not constituted upon a national or racial basis; and New York, the most populous State, contains only 10 per cent. of the total population.

It may perhaps be urged that the question of financing the central government has not proved an insuperable difficulty in the case of the self-governing communities within the British Empire; but it may be submitted that the experiences of small and widely scattered communities, none of which is very superior to the rest, do not afford suitable data upon which to base any sound conclusions as to the applicability of the principle of a federal system of government to a country such as the United Kingdom, with a population of 45,000,000 and an area of only 121,000 square miles. The federal systems of the Overseas

Dominions are not constituted upon a national basis; and Canada, the largest of them, has only a population of 7,200,000. Moreover, it must be remembered that in each case the creation of a federal government has been a constructive measure. It has always meant the union of several states, self-governing in local matters but subject in matters of general policy to a central authority composed of delegates from or representatives of the individual States. What the Federalists propose in the case of the United Kingdom is in many respects a complete reversal of what has taken place in the Overseas Dominions. There is to be the splitting up of a unitary form of government into four self-governing States concurrently with the creation of a Federal Government, having power to deal with taxation, defence, relations with foreign Powers, and other matters of general policy. It practically means the dissolution, as it were, of a great and old-established banking company into four more or less independent self-governing banks of varying size and character; and, as most business men will perhaps be prepared to admit, the problem of such a financial dissolution, with all its attendant questions as to the apportionment of liabilities and assets, would be very much more difficult than the problem of their amalgamation.

It is practically certain that the English State Government would overshadow the Federal Government, and sooner or later would come into violent conflict with it. This fundamental weakness in the application of the federal system to the United Kingdom was recognised by Mr Winston Churchill, who said in the course of his speech at Dundee on September 12, 1912:

'There would be no difficulty in applying the federal system to Scotland or Wales, as well as Ireland, but when they came to England a very real difficulty arose. England was so great and populous that an English Parliament, whatever its functions or limitations might be, could not fail in the nature of things to be almost as powerful as the Imperial Parliament, side by side with which it would have to live; and if there were, as there very easily might be, a divergence of feeling and policy between the English Parliament and the Imperial Parliament, the quarrel between these two tremendously powerful bodies might tear the State in half and bring great evils upon all.'

If it were desired to set up a workable federal system in these islands, Mr Churchill continued, they would have to face the task of dividing England into several great self-governing areas. Some of those areas could be readily discerned. There was, for instance, the great Lancashire area, with a mass of people, all with very similar interests and very much the same kind of conditions of life. Then there was Yorkshire, as large or perhaps larger, and the Midlands—a great group of counties which had distinctively their own contribution to make to the progress of British society and government—and London and Greater London. Mr Churchill further said, 'I am not at all disturbed by the prospect of seeing erected in this country ten or twelve separate legislative bodies for discharging the functions entrusted to them by the Imperial Parliament.'

It is difficult to believe that the people of England would assent to the scheme outlined by Mr Churchill. Scotland, Ireland and Wales, it will be observed, are to have self-government upon a national basis; but England is to be denationalised because the English Government would be too powerful for the Federal Government to deal with successfully in the event of a conflict of views or policy. Even if the people of England were to assent to such a proposition, there would remain an economic difficulty which would be almost incapable of solution. How is the cost of Imperial services to be apportioned? How is the cost of local services to be apportioned? Are there to be twelve quotas, and are they to vary from time to time? Is revenue raised by taxation in Lancashire or the Midlands to be expended on Education, Old Age Pensions, National Insurance or agricultural grants in Cornwall, Norfolk or Ireland?

On the whole, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the financial difficulties and dangers which would be created by the institution of a system of self-government for England, Scotland and Wales on the lines of that proposed to be conferred upon Ireland are so great that they would far outweigh any advantages which might reasonably be expected to accrue from the adoption of such a policy. It would therefore seem inevitable that Great Britain, at least, must retain her present unitary form of government. Mr Herbert Samuel has shown us

how wonderfully our constitution has adapted itself to federal requirements; and it is perhaps to an extension of the powers of local authorities that we must look for a remedy for most of our existing difficulties of government. There is, indeed, another remedy, but it is one to which the British people, proud in the knowledge that the British Parliament has always been the depository of the sovereignty of the British Empire, is as yet disinclined to turn, and that is the institution of an Imperial Federal Council. If the Committee of Imperial Defence were re-constituted on a basis representative of every part of the British Empire, and at the same time given executive and administrative powers in all matters of Imperial Defence, Foreign Relations, etc., the British House of Commons would be relieved of a vast amount of work which it is at present called upon to perform; and, if the majority so desired, it could then devote itself whole-heartedly to those objects which are so dear to the protagonists of Federal Home Rule.

EDGAR CRAMMOND.

Art. 2.—BRITISH INDIA BEFORE PLASSEY.

1. *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal.* By C. R. Wilson. Two vols. Calcutta: Thacker and Co., 1895, 1900.
2. *Bengal in 1756-1757.* (Indian Records Series.) Edited by S. C. Hill. Three vols. London: Murray, 1905.
3. *Old Fort William in Bengal.* (Ind. Rec. Series.) Edited by C. R. Wilson. Two vols. London: Murray, 1906.
4. *The Diaries of Streyneham Master, 1675-1680.* (Ind. Rec. Series.) Edited by Sir Richard Temple. Two vols. London: Murray, 1913.
5. *Vestiges of Old Madras.* By Colonel H. D. Love. Three vols. London: Murray, 1913.
6. *The Fall of the Mogul Empire.* By Sidney J. Owen. London: Murray, 1912.

‘CHARLES II,’ wrote Sir William Hunter in his admirable but unfinished history of British India, ‘found the Company a trading body; he left it a nascent territorial power.’ To one versed only in the older historians, Mill, Auber, Thornton, or even Marshman, such a statement would be barely comprehensible. These with one accord trace the history of Madras from the war with the French, and the history of Bengal from the fall of Siraj-ud-daula. To them the earlier period comprised merely the petty squabbings of the Company’s servants with Moghal rulers, trading operations conducted more or less honestly, and the building of fortresses conspicuous for their inability to stand a siege. Until not long ago Bruce’s ‘Annals’ constituted the highest product of historical scholarship as applied to the earlier history of the East India Company; in other words, the period was unknown, for Bruce is not a luminous historian. But that is not all. Not only did the older historians lack information, but they lacked motive and interest as well. They related facts, they did not investigate causes. Their theories of historical causation were completely satisfied by tracing the French war to the ambition of Dupleix, and the war in Bengal to the infatuation of the young Subahdar. The modern writer is not so easily contented. He is disposed, with Seeley, to resolve history into a series of problems to each of which he expects an answer; he

traces the sequence of events for the sake of the sequence, and is almost as much interested in the beginnings of a great movement as in its more grandiose and developed manifestations.

In full accordance with this modern tendency, a great number of scholars have in recent times devoted themselves to elucidating the earlier history of the British in India. This may be said to have begun in earnest with the labours of the Hakluyt Society and the Calendars of Mr Noel Sainsbury. Though included in the former, Colonel Sir Henry Yule's edition of Hedge's Diary is in itself a landmark, for it displayed in striking form the valuable material which lay hid in the later records of the 17th century. But the form of the work imposed serious limitations upon the author. He was able only to illustrate occasional points, not to tell the whole story of a period. But the work has been taken up more recently by a band of zealous and gifted workers. The series of Calendars now in course of issue by Mr Foster and Miss Sainsbury must be reserved for a later occasion, since they have as yet barely touched the present subject-matter. But, besides them, a number of highly valuable collections of documents have been issued under the wise patronage of the India Office. Mr Hill has collected from every source documents bearing on the revolution of 1757 in Bengal. While he has suffered from the fact that many papers, such as Holwell's letters and others, were published in the 18th century, his collection of these scattered fragments of history is by no means otiose. The student need no longer turn over a score of volumes; the documents themselves gain a new value by their juxtaposition; and above all Mr Hill's diligence has enabled him to publish new documents from French and Dutch sources. The late Mr Wilson, in his collection of papers on the history of Fort William, enjoyed a more open field, for, except in that work and in his 'Early Annals of the English in Bengal,' the history of Calcutta from 1700 to 1748 was a blank. Colonel Love, too, in his 'Vestiges of Old Madras,' has practically had no forerunner. It is true that Mr Wheeler many years ago published a series of extracts from the Madras Records; but the Madras Records have in the earlier period extensive gaps which can only be supplied by the records at the India Office; and Mr

Wheeler had not the eye of a Yule for essentials. It is certainly not too much to say that Colonel Love's volumes give what never before has been given to the public, the history of Madras from its establishment. Less fortunate in the defect of predecessors is Sir R. Temple's 'Diaries of Streynsham Master,' for considerable extracts were made by Yule and others by Morris, but even here copious annotations give value to a work less grateful in itself.

With the aid of these volumes it is proposed in the following pages to sketch the early history of the English in eastern and southern India down to the time from which their great territorial expansion may be dated. The third presidency, the presidency of Bombay, is excluded from our view, for its story during this earlier period lies apart. The events which led to the development of English rule in the Carnatic and Bengal did not lead to a corresponding development in western India. The expansion of Bombay was the result of later circumstances, and belongs to a later stage in the evolution of the British Empire. The cause of this retarded development is to be found in the movement which accompanied the decline of the Moghal Empire, just as that decline itself was largely responsible for the progress of the British on the other side of India. The Western Presidency could not expand until the Maratha power which rose on the ruins of the Moghal rule had also fallen.

While we confine ourselves to the development of two presidencies only, we can by no means ignore the movement of purely Indian history. The two are in reality closely interwoven. The lack or the disorganisation of Moghal rule necessitated a policy which in other circumstances would never have been followed. Sir Thomas Roe in 1619 urged upon the Company a purely commercial policy. None other was possible within the limits of the Moghal empire and during the period of its effective existence. The Portuguese had made their conquests before its establishment; but they could not maintain their position in Bengal. No fortification would have been permitted at Surat or Hugli. It was only when they lacked the protection of a regular government that the English took measures to protect themselves; and the critics who with M. Leroy-Beaulieu exclaim against the cost of war and administration which might have been

avoided by maintaining Sir Thomas Roe's policy profoundly misjudge the situation, for they ignore changes.

Those changes, which may be summed up in the phrase 'the fall of the Moghal Empire,' have recently been discussed with much acute criticism by Mr Owen in his book thus named. He has freely used the vivid and picturesque pages of Manucci's 'Storia do Mogor,' but otherwise employs no new authorities; nevertheless his work deserves high praise for vigour of conception and presentment; and the subject is worthy of such treatment. In itself essentially dramatic and full of human interest, it permits easily to be discerned the underlying causes that brought on stage after stage of the decline. In 1657 Shah Jahan ruled with undisputed authority. His *farmans* were obeyed by the remotest governors. His four sons each held posts of great responsibility; and by them the imperial commands were executed with energy and promptitude. But this appearance of solidity and strength was in 'great measure illusive. Within a year Shah Jahan had been deposed; within three more, all Aurangzib's brothers and rivals had perished; and the fall of the empire had begun. Not that such revolutions are surprising or necessarily destructive to an Oriental dynasty. Jahangir had rebelled against Akbar; Shah Jahan had appeared in arms against Jahangir. If Aurangzib slew his brothers Dara and Murad Bukhsh, Shah Jahan had slain his brother Shahryar, and, if the moral feelings of Aurangzib's subjects were outraged by the manner of his accession, it must be admitted that they had been similarly outraged on previous occasions. Aurangzib's calculated treachery, not to be outdone by a Borgia or a Malatesta, seems to have done little to undermine the respect felt by its subjects for the Moghal Empire. In all but his misfortunes Aurangzib generally figures in the pages of the Indian chronicler as the ideal monarch.

But in another way the rivalry between Aurangzib and Dara did impose upon the former a ruinous policy. Dara professed the unorthodox creed of Akbar; Aurangzib was thus obliged to stand forth as the devout follower of the Prophet. Dara relied upon the Hindus and the half-Hinduised Moghals; Aurangzib summoned to his standard all true Moslems for the defence of their

religion. Elphinstone thought that, in so doing, Aurangzib judged wisely the religious feelings of his age; and subsequent events showed that there was a large body of Mohammedans ready to obey the call. No other distinctive war-cry could have been raised; and its ill results were only to become apparent in after years. But, though deferred, they were inevitable. Aurangzib's predecessors had allowed little distinction to be made on account of religion. They had wedded and promoted Hindus with remarkable liberality. The fundamental principle of the empire (if indeed it had any principle at all) had been toleration. Aurangzib's orthodox policy therefore came as a sudden and doleful change. It lacked the supporting terror of recent conquest. It was upheld by an army, never well organised, and fast sinking in luxurious effeminacy. The imposition of the *jizya*, the ill-treatment of the Rajputs, the desecration of the temples of Benares, were measures consonant with the spirit of the predominant religion, favoured by the feelings of Aurangzib's followers, and delightful to Aurangzib himself. But they ignored the military degeneracy of troops that could not move without a long train of women to bear them company, and numberless oxen burdened with gorgeous tents and elaborate camp-furniture. This policy of strict orthodoxy and repression of the infidel gave strength and consistency to the rise of the Marathas, whom the Moghal army was wholly incapable of quelling. For more than twenty years the imperial officers strove against their activity and craft, but could protect neither the country nor themselves. Then Aurangzib in person took the field, and for another twenty odd years maintained the struggle. But though he conquered his co-religionists of Bijapur and Golconda, he won nothing from the Marathas, save by bribery. Even in oriental annals it would be hard to find a more signal instance of military incompetence. At last, after Aurangzib's death and the usual war of succession, in which two princes were slain, Bahadur Shah granted to the Marathas a share of the Deccan revenues, a grant which was speedily used as the basis of further pretensions.

After the death of Bahadur Shah the decline of the empire continued with ever-increasing rapidity. Jahandar Shah, frivolous, profligate and cruel, overthrew his three

brothers, only to be overthrown himself and strangled by his nephew Farrukh Siyar. The latter owed his throne to the support of the two Sayyad brothers; and his reign forms a series of plots and counter-plots designed to secure the destruction or the predominance of the king-makers. In order to maintain their position, these allied themselves with the Marathas, and, in 1719, deposed and strangled the Emperor. There followed two 'shadow-kings' (as Keene calls them), in whose name the ambitious brothers were able to exercise their power without restraint. But neither lived. Then Muhammad Shah was selected. He was a prince of greater vigour, alike in mind and body. He hated the espionage and restrictions with which he was surrounded, while the Moghal nobles hated the supremacy of the Sayyads and their Hinduising policy. Nizam-ul-Mulk openly opposed them, scattered their Maratha and Rajput allies, and slew the deputy they had placed over his old *subah* of the Deccan. These victories gave courage to other enemies. In 1720 one brother was assassinated; the other was defeated after a stubborn contest in the field, captured, and subsequently poisoned. Thus the person of the Emperor was released from durance; but, though restored to liberty, he was not restored to power. Nizam-ul-Mulk became independent in all but name in the Deccan, Sa'adat Khan in Oude; while Murshid Quli Khan made Bengal, for the time at least, hereditary in his family.

The remaining history of the Empire affords little more than an example of how rapidly disorganisation may proceed in an oriental state. Central control disappeared. The Marathas ravaged far and wide, even in remote Bengal, wherever their claims to blackmail were not admitted. When Nadir Shah appeared, the imperial councils were divided, the imperial forces scattered, unreliable and useless. Hardly a blow was struck to hinder the invader's march from Cabul to Delhi; and the Moghal sovereign underwent the humiliation which his ancestors had inflicted upon the princes of India, without attempting the resistance which even these had made. Such were the fortunes of the Moghal Empire in the century before the Battle of Plassey—an empire always more powerful in semblance than reality, and ruined by its inherent vices rather than by the feebleness of its

monarchs. Never well-organised from the military point of view, always in difficulties about its religious policy, dominated by a race of men steadily degenerating in the Indian plains, the empire was plainly destined to no long continuance. Aurangzib carried it to its widest extent of territory, but he initiated a decline destined to culminate within less than half a century.

That such profound changes must needs have led to corresponding modifications in the policy of European traders in India is self-evident. Had the empire continued in the state in which it was under Shah Jahan, had the imperial *farmans* always commanded obedience, and order continued to prevail throughout the imperial territories, the English factories would never have aspired to anything above the status which they long enjoyed at Surat or Canton, which the merchants of the Hanse enjoyed in London or Ghent, which the Levant merchants enjoyed in Smyrna or Aleppo. The Company's servants would never have sheltered themselves behind the walls of Fort William; they might well have been required to pull down the ramparts of Fort St George and Bombay Castle. They would have remained traders, in no wise concerned with garrisons or fortresses, with questions of revenue or problems of policy.

In sketching the decline of the Moghal Empire we have somewhat anticipated. We must now return to the early days of the East India Company's enterprise in India, and firstly in the south. In those parts the English never found themselves under a good native Government. Their original headquarters, from 1616, were at Masulipatam, the chief port of the kingdom of Golconda and the centre of a prosperous trade in cotton cloths, especially to the Moluccas. But the cupidity of native governors was easily excited by the accumulation of goods in the English factory. Masulipatam was more than once abandoned, owing to their exactions. On one occasion a dependent factory was besieged until the factors had nothing but rice and the brackish water that oozed up through holes scraped in the earth. These and similar troubles were attributed by the English authorities to the factors' misconduct. They were accused of being incapable, extravagant and drunken. A new agent, Andrew Cogan, was sent in 1639 to take charge. He

proceeded overland from Surat and on his way visited the court of Golconda. At first he had nothing but praise for the native authorities; they were his loving friends; matters would be set right as soon as properly represented. But before long he too began to see another side of the matter, to talk of seizing his loving friends' vessels for their misdeeds, and to recommend an imitation of the Dutch who made their headquarters and warehouses at Pulicat, within the walls of Castle Gueldria and outside the Golconda territories.

Even before this the English had built a fort at Armagon; but it was ill-situated, circumscribed, and not easily defended. So they now sought asylum elsewhere. They found it hard by the Portuguese city of St Thomé. There, on a slip of land between a river and the Coromandel surf, Cogan and Day, almost on their own responsibility, built Fort St George. The land was granted by the Nayak of the district, and his terms were exceptionally favourable. He gave the English a village with the right to govern there, to build a fort, and to establish a mint; the Company's goods, passing through his territory, were to pay only half the duty imposed on the goods of other merchants; and after two years he was to receive half the customs collected at the fort on the goods of strangers. He was induced, he said, to offer these terms because he wished to encourage merchants, to obtain horses by the Company's ships from Persia, and to be protected by the fort against his insulting neighbours. The fort itself was a petty affair—four bastions with short connecting curtains and a house in the centre; the bastions built of earth and cased with blocks of laterite, and both they and the curtains only completed after tedious delays. But, under such shelter as its guns afforded, the place grew quickly. Portuguese were induced to build themselves houses by a promise that no duty should be levied on grain and clothing for thirty years. The Dutch observed that, where there had been only a few fishing huts, within two years of the appearance of the English there were seventy or eighty houses. Before the end of 1640 between three and four hundred families of weavers had assembled to make cloth for the Company's investment.

Before long the English had reason to anticipate a

change in the native rulers under whom they lived. The Hindus were divided against themselves. The Nayaks thought themselves Kings, each in his country, and attended the 'great King' of Vijianagar at their pleasure. They intrigued with the Mohammedan Kings of Bijapur and Golconda; and soon these powers began to press southwards. In 1646 Sri Ranga Rayal of Vijianagar was at war with both. In 1647 he was hard pressed, and later in the year the Agent reported that Mir Jumla had almost conquered the kingdom. After a brief quarrel over the division of the spoil, Golconda became definitely the mistress of the Carnatic.

At first the change seemed not for the worse. Mir Jumla, who became Nawab of the Carnatic, appeared friendly. He lent the Company 16,000 rials (c. 4000*l.*) without interest; he confirmed the English privileges; what sounds still stranger, he offered to lend them 50,000 pagodas (c. 20,000*l.*) in order 'to be united with your Hon'ble Society,' and promised to make the Company's affairs flourish. But this pacific state of things did not long continue. The Nawab had an *adigar* in Madras to watch the customs and to see that his half was properly accounted for. The Moors wished to convert this officer into a *havildar* who would govern the Black Town in the Nawab's name, and they began to insist on duty being paid for the Company's grain. These were merged with other disputes with the Nawab's subordinates; and in 1656 the Agent, Greenhill, thinking to carry matters with a high hand, seized the Nawab's junk lying at anchor off St Thomé. Madras was at once blockaded, and for seven months of the following year besieged; but the matter was settled in 1658 by an agreement which involved the removal of the *adigar* and an annual payment of 380 pagodas in lieu of the half-customs. This agreement, however, proved but temporary. The Moors seized St Thomé to prevent its falling into the hands of the Dutch, who were absorbing one by one the Portuguese possessions on the mainland of India; and St Thomé afforded the Moors an admirable basis from which to annoy the English. The factors believed that their privileges were to be revoked and full customs demanded. It was even said that the Governor of Masulipatam meant to march down and attack Madras. These alarms were

quieted by a rebellion of the Hindus against Golconda; but, when the question came up again in 1663, Nawab Neknam Khan required the English to receive a *havildar* in the Black Town, and to pay the exact half of the customs; nor was the matter really settled until Langhorne became Governor in 1672. The rent was then fixed at 1200 pagodas; certain arrears were to be paid; the demand for a *havildar* was withdrawn; and the English were to have 'the command, government and justice' of the city whose growth they had fostered.

Meanwhile these events had brought about a great development of the English position. The little fort, which Day had planned, was not completed till 1653. In the same year we read of an outwork to protect the vessels in the road. Before long other outworks and walls appear. Agents Chamber and Winter each added to the defences; and, by the time that the troubles with Golconda were over, the inner fort was engirt with a line of outworks and curtains embracing the whole European quarter. These were feeble enough, doubtless, to be but a poor defence even against an enemy little skilled in sieges; but they were at all events sufficient to secure Madras from capture and plunder. In 1642 the garrison had consisted of thirty-five Europeans and as many natives; and, though the Company did its best to restrict military expenses, though the soldiers sent out were 'the refuse of ships,' though their swords were no better than butchers' knives and their muskets honeycombed with rust, in 1673 Langhorne managed to assemble under arms some eight hundred men, Europeans, half-castes and natives. A large part of his forces consisted of 'trainbands'; but there could be no question of the increased military strength of the settlement.

Madras had developed in other ways besides. In spite of the troubles with Golconda already referred to, and the internal dissensions which raged under Baker's Government and broke out into active and successful rebellion under Foxcroft's, the civilising agencies in Madras grew stronger and their outward signs more evident. Sir Edward Winter, best known for his seizing the government out of Foxcroft's puritanical and unpractised hands, built a chapel, founded the hospital, and established a library. The judicial powers of the Agent

were also strengthened. Charles II's charter¹ had granted authority to Governors and their Councils to execute judgment in all causes civil and criminal. The Company therefore constituted Foxcroft Governor of Fort St George, so that he might bring to trial a woman accused of murdering her slave. Under Foxcroft, too, Englishmen were definitely established as justices in the Choultry Court, as the court for summary justice was called. At first, two natives had sat there; but, when one was credibly accused of taking bribes to license stolen children being sent as slaves to the Dutch at Pulicat, two of the Company's servants were placed in their stead. Under Winter's agency native justices were restored, but Foxcroft reverted to the English justices, and his decision seems not to have been subsequently reversed. In itself the matter is trivial, but it is significant as an early example of the English taking upon themselves administrative duties and of the reasons why they were obliged to do so. Nor was the English rule unpopular. In 1649 the population was estimated at 15,000. When St Thomé was seized by the Moors, the wealthier Portuguese emigrated to Madras, and the Dutch reported that the town was overcrowded and fast extending. In 1674, what with this and the flocking of Indians into the English jurisdiction, it was said that there were in Madras itself and 'the out-parts' no less than 50,000 people.

After the settlement of 1672 one might have expected political matters to have remained moderately quiet. But the King of Golconda was a feeble sovereign who left all to his Ministers. His *farmans* were ignored. No reliance, the Madras Council complained, could be placed in any agreements, promises or grants. Lingappa, the Nayak of Poonamallee, and later promoted to be Nawab of the Carnatic, was continually raising difficulties. Sometimes he would prohibit grain from being carried into Madras; at others he would forbid coining, threaten to divert trade to St Thomé, or revive the old demand for a *havildar* in the Black Town. But against these demands and threats the English as a rule assumed a bold front. Streynsham Master sent out a party of the garrison to bring in food by force; Elihu Yale, famous as the benefactor of the great American university, visited the

Maratha country lying south of Madras and obtained a grant of factories there in order that, when the Company's investment was hindered in the Carnatic country, the deficiency could be made good elsewhere; and, when he himself was Governor, he offered to sell Fort St George to the troublesome Lingappa for what it had cost the Company, since it would be easy for the English to establish their headquarters under Gingee. This spirit of confidence must have been derived in great part from the Council's acquaintance with Indian diplomacy, but some was certainly due to Langhorne's reform of the outer fortifications.

When in 1687 Aurangzib was before Golconda, there was naturally great alarm at Madras, for events in Bengal had led the English to a violent rupture with the Moghals. But, just as when Golconda seized on the remnants of the Vijianagar Kingdom, so now the disturbance passed off without hurt. When Zulfiqar Khan was completing the purpose with which Golconda was seized, and was besieging the Maratha fortress of Gingee, he obtained military stores from Madras and in return confirmed all the English privileges. Soon afterwards three outlying villages, now forming quarters of the city itself, were granted to the Company. But, just as the Nawab under the King of Golconda had proved troublesome, so also was it with the Moghal Nawab. Zulfiqar Khan appointed Daud Khan his deputy in the Carnatic; and in 1701, when he was at Arcot, Manucci was sent on an embassy to him. But he threatened to send a Governor for the Black Town, and shortly after came to St Thomé with 10,000 men. Thomas Pitt was then Governor. That 'roughling and immoral man,' as the Court of Directors had once called him, was undoubtedly the greatest President of Fort St George before Thomas Saunders. He met this hostile demonstration resolutely. He landed sailors from the ships in the roads, he embodied the militia, and increased his native forces. On this Daud Khan thought better of his threats. He was entertained at a great dinner in the Consultation Room; a display of dancing girls and a present of two cases of rich cordial waters further soothed him; and he ended by giving his *parwana* that the English affairs should continue according to custom. But his rich cordial waters did not last.

him long. Next year he was demanding a substantial present. This was when Aurangzib, wearied by the mutual complaints of the rival English Companies, had ordered their expulsion from his dominions; and Daud Khan's real motive was to extort a bribe for disobeying the Moghal's commands. In this case the English had to give way, and paid 25,000 pagodas on condition that the blockade which Daud Khan had established should be removed.

A grant of five more villages, made by Daud Khan a few years later, well illustrates the relations between the English and the Moghal authorities in the Carnatic at this period. As soon as Pitt had left the Presidency, Daud Khan demanded their restoration, but was induced to confirm his grant by four hundred bottles of liquor. The demand thus easily revoked was, however, as easily put forward again; this time parties of the English garrison were quartered in the disputed villages. After Daud Khan had been recalled to Northern India, the Diwan demanded the villages once more and appears to have actually resumed them, in what circumstances does not appear. Their recovery was among the objects of the Surman embassy to Farrukh Siyar in 1717; and they were granted by the *farman* then obtained. Nawab Sa'adatullah Khan, however, even then refused to surrender them. Collet, Governor of Fort St George, decided to take them by force; and this was done after a trifling engagement with the Moors' troops. The Nawab, after sulking for some time, at last agreed to forget his resentment on receiving a present of 3000 pagodas.

In 1723 the Nawab again demanded the villages and was met with defiance. The Moors, Governor Elwick answered, would suffer more by a rupture than the English would. Further additions had in the interval been made to the defences of Madras. Pitt had replaced the mud-wall round the Black Town with a brick-cased rampart and flanking works. Redoubts had been built to protect the suburbs which had sprung up to the north of the Black Town wall. The garrison had risen from the 160 Europeans in regular pay in the time of Streynsham Master to 360 at Fort St George and as many more at Fort St David in 1717. Their numbers, it is true, were not formidable, nor was their quality good. Many of

the Europeans were infirm ; many of the Topasses (as the half-caste Portuguese were called) were useless. But the reputation of the defences and garrison was high enough to hinder the Nawab from attempting an assault.

The revenues of the settlement now amounted to something between 60,000 (24,000*l.*) and 70,000 pagodas (28,000*l.*) a year, which more than paid the establishments maintained. The principal source of this revenue was the custom duties ; but this was by no means the only source. After prolonged passive resistance the Company had carried their point. A quit-rent was established ; taxes were levied on sales of houses and slaves ; the sales of betel, bhang and tobacco were farmed out as a monopoly ; the Company's mint and the keepers of punch-houses contributed ; and the total produce multiplied sixfold in forty years (1680-1720). A Mayor and Corporation were established on the Dutch model, to facilitate the creation of revenue ; and this served also as a step onwards in the administration of justice. The Mayor's Court at first heard both civil and criminal cases. Then a Court of Admiralty was set up with a Judge Advocate, who heard appeals from the Mayor's Court as well. The final step was taken in 1726, when a charter of George II made the Mayor's Court the chief civil tribunal, with an appeal to the Governor and Council, while the senior members of the latter were constituted a Court of Quarter Sessions to try and punish all criminal offenders save those accused of high treason. To what size the population had grown is hard to say ; but it was considerable. Pitt claimed that in his day the mint turned out as much on an average as the English mint in the Tower of London. Salmon declares that he never saw a city where ready money was more plentiful. Ranga Pillai, who was the chief merchant under the French at Pondichery in the time of Dupleix, cursed his stars, when in 1746 Madras surrendered to La Bourdonnais, that he was unable to be present at the plunder of the City of Riches. There is reason to suppose that Madras was not so prosperous at that time as it had been twenty years earlier ; there are complaints of diminished customs, of high prices caused by perpetual war, of declining cultivation and ruined water-courses ; but, even if Madras had declined since the time of Pitt, it still was, and was

destined to remain, a great and important city. Such was the justification of the policy of fortresses and garrisons in the Carnatic; and to such a point had it brought the city of Madras, within a century of its foundation and on the eve of the French wars, in spite of its surf-beaten, harbourless coast, and the infertile country with which it was surrounded.

Meanwhile the course of events in Bengal had not been wholly dissimilar. Almost as soon as the English had established themselves at Masulipatam, occasional trading excursions were made to the Bay of Bengal. Efforts were made to establish factories, but at first no Englishman seemed able to live in that treacherous climate, where, moreover, fruit and arrack were exceedingly plentiful. The trade, however, was too profitable to be neglected. In 1650 Sultan Shuja granted a *nishan* for free trade on condition of receiving 3000 rupees (300*l.*) a year for that privilege. But in Bengal, as elsewhere, the English suffered heavily from the extortions of native princes. Shaista Khan, for instance, took money for confirming their privileges, and then stopped the saltpetre boats till additional money had been paid for their release. The factors complained that they were treated no better than Hindus. A matter into which Streynsham Master was specially directed to enquire affords a good illustration of the insecurity which prevailed. The accounts of the native cash-keeper at the Kazimbazar factory had been allowed to fall into arrears. He was beaten by another native servant, and in order to revenge himself took poison. The Governor of Murshidabad* took the matter up and demanded 10,000 rupees from the English. It was considered that an appeal to the Subahdar would be worse than useless. It would mean long delays; it would require heavy bribes; and the local governor would cherish a grudge against the English for the loss of what he expected. So the matter was settled locally, lest worse should befall. The Dutch, in similar circumstances not long before, had had their trade stopped for five months and had paid, it

* At this time called Muqsadabad; it was renamed by Murshid Quli Khan, who made it the capital of the province.

was said, two lakhs (200,000) of rupees. Master urged upon the Company the need of obtaining a *farman* from Aurangzib, thinking that this would restrain official cupidity. A *farman* was therefore obtained, granting trade free of duties. Shaista Khan immediately threw the factor at Dacca into prison and demanded $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all the Company's goods. Charnock complained with reason that the Emperor's *farman* was entirely disregarded. In 1686 it was computed that the Company had lost sixty-two lakhs of rupees (620,000*l.*) by plundering, demolishing, extortion of presents, and money wrung from the merchants. The amount, as is usual in such cases, was exaggerated, but there is no doubt that the English had suffered severely.

The truth was that the Bay offered an opening for European traders at once alluring and disappointing. The country was far richer and more productive than the southern provinces; prices were low; there was a constant tendency among the Company's servants, alike of an earlier and a later day, to forsake sandy Madras for the sweet plenties of Bengal. But this wealthy land had its disadvantages. Even in the 17th century, as we have seen, imperial commands were not always obeyed there. The Subahdar was often a prince of the blood, ambitious, arrogant and tyrannical, powerful with the wealth of the province, and remote from control alike by birth and situation. *Farman*s for trade might be obtained from the Moghal, but it by no means followed that they would be enforced. That depended upon the Prince's humour and the Company's bribes and other people's bribes.

Moreover, the Subahdar of Bengal was a more powerful person than the authorities with whom the English had to deal in the south. And he had far greater opportunities of exercising his power over the European traders who visited his dominions. The Dutch at Pulicat, the English at Fort St George, the French at Pondichery, being on the sea-coast, had the protection of their armed Indiamen as well as garrisons and fortifications. The sea was always open to their fleets, save in the stormy months from October to December. The artisans who wove piece-goods for the staple investment on the Coromandel Coast were largely settled within a little distance of their European employers. But it was quite

otherwise in the wealthy northern province. There all the European factories were far inland. Dacca, Patna, Kasimbazar and Hugli, the chief centres of European commerce, were all connected by waterways, but the traffic that passed was liable at every point to the interference and prohibition of the native authorities. The muslins of Dacca, the saltpetre of Patna, the silks of Kasimbazar could only be gathered together at Hugli by permission of the Subahdar and his dependents; they could only be sent down the river from Hugli by consent of the Governor of that city. Nowhere else had Moghal officers such unlimited opportunities for extortion; nowhere else did they take such advantage of their opportunities.

Gradually it was borne in upon the Company's servants that they were paying very heavily for their trade, that it was unduly liable to interruption, and that it might be conducted upon more advantageous terms. So early as the time of Hedges this had become apparent. It was believed in 1683 that the Dutch meant to establish a fortified position at the mouth of the Ganges; and Hedges thought that this was the only course for the English Company to follow. This was 'the common thought,' as Mr Wilson says, 'of the English in Bengal'—a universal opinion forced on them by circumstances. In the South they saw the English settlements relatively free from the exactions under which they suffered, and capable of defying upon occasion the commands of the Moghal officers from behind their walls and bastions. They thought the same results would follow the establishment of fortifications in Bengal.

This belief was also adopted by the Court of Directors, and led to the ill-conceived and ill-executed expeditions of Nicholson and Heath. It is needless here to relate the story of the fight at Hugli, the siege of Hijili, the absurd appearance before Chittagong, and the retreat to Fort St George. Sir Henry Yule long ago told the story as it is related in the Company's records. We must take up the tale in 1690, when Charnock settled for the third time in Sutanuti, destined to be for a century and a half the capital of British India. Charnock returned, it will be remembered, before any terms had been definitely concluded, or as definitely concluded as Indian conditions

allowed. The first buildings were mean and squalid huts. When Goldsborough visited the settlement he found that even the site of the factory-house had not been marked out, and that a Roman Catholic church had been placed in the only suitable spot. The English were entirely at the Nawab's mercy. It was no use beginning to build until the royal *farman* was received; and that was still detained by the Governor of Surat till compensation was paid for the shipping seized by the English during the war. In 1694 the Bengal council complained that they could not induce the Subahdar and the Diwan to consent to a 'firm settlement,' and feared that they would never obtain their consent so long as the existing Diwan continued in office. It was only in 1695 that it was resolved to erect any brick buildings, and nothing more could be obtained than the Nawab's connivance.

In 1696, however, a change for the better occurred. Azimush-shan became Subahdar. A rebellion took place, and the Europeans in Bengal were authorised to protect themselves against the rebels. In the following year, it seems that guns were obtained from Madras. The Court at this time were not prepared to spend much money on fortifications. They ordered the defences to be confined to the factory-house. They wanted a small fort, so that a numerous garrison would be unnecessary, although they wrote at the same time that Fort William was to be such as to give 'full security to you and satisfaction to us.' They had grown wise enough to desire security, but remained foolish enough to expect to get it cheap.

Nevertheless, incomplete as was the measure they were prepared to sanction, it was the first step. The next was to procure a grant of the three towns—Sutanuti, Calcutta, and Govindpur. The Council applied to the Zemindar; he professed himself very ready to grant them to the English in some native's name, but absolutely refused to grant them in the name of the Company. In the one case he felt he would be at liberty to revoke the grant whenever he pleased; in the other he knew it would be practically irrevocable. That failing, the Council applied to the Prince. A present of 2000 rupees proved sufficient. The grant was made. The towns passed into the possession of the Company for an annual rent of 1200 rupees, and before long began to justify the

Directors' hope that they would become 'the most flourishing spot of ground in Bengal.'

It seems, however, that people in England, if not in Bengal also, exaggerated the significance of the grant. The Court wrote that they could now fortify themselves as they pleased, since it was no longer any concern of 'the Moors.' They had to learn that they had not acquired complete sovereign rights such as they practically enjoyed at Madras, and that their authority extended but a little way beyond the collection of taxes and the administration of civil justice. In 1702 the Council was obliged to report that they had to treat the revenue cautiously lest a Moghal officer should be sent as judge. Not long after, when a native *peon* was killed in a brawl with some sailors, the man's relations had to be bribed to prevent their appealing for justice to the native powers. Conversely, when a sailor was killed in a brawl with some natives, nothing could be done for lack of a court of judicature. Even the chaplain lifted up his heel against the Council. Parson Adams, who resembled Fielding's character only in name, refused to surrender his servant when the latter was ordered to be imprisoned. When the London Company and the English Company were united in 1704, the Fort William Council feared to announce it to the local powers till all the goods for investment had safely arrived in Calcutta.

The same fear of hurting Moghal susceptibilities is manifested in several passages of the Court's letters about Fort William. Bastions might be built at the corners of the factory under pretence of closets, or points under the guise of warehouses. Ten years later they are still harping on the same string, and instruct President Weltden to strengthen the fort, 'under some fair pretence.' They wax angry when they hear of 'the pompous appearance' of Fort William by the water-side, and insist that it shall be called a fort as little as possible. The Bengal factors themselves seized the occasion of Aurang-zib's death to strengthen their two landward bastions, as 'an interregnum offers the properest opportunity' for new works. At a later period the Court complained that their servants in Bengal were so much in awe of the country powers that immense contributions were easily and shamefully given. This is not surprising. They

were only following the example which the Court had set.

The truth appears to be that the Court never really grasped the situation. In 1710, for example, they ordered Fort William to be strengthened because they found that Fort St George hindered demands for *peshkash*, and checked the interference of subordinate officials. But they did not understand that, if the policy of self-protection were to be pursued effectively, they would have to make a considerable increase in their military establishment. They wished to be able to defy the orders of the Subahdar, but were unwilling to provide what was needed to resist his power. The factors in Bengal wished to secure additional territory. They sought and obtained an imperial grant of the thirty-eight 'towns' nearest the settlement, and reported that the additional revenue would pay for additional soldiers. But the Court were doubtful of the advantage. If the towns were prosperous, they argued, the Moors would wish to take them back; and, they added, 'it is not politic for us to be encumbered with much territory.'

In these circumstances, with the Court desiring immunity from extortion but not providing the means of resistance, and with the factors themselves busied with a private trade which they feared to injure, it was tolerably clear that little would be done to check the demands of the Subahdar and the greed of his subordinates. English relations with the native powers in Bengal consisted of demands on the one side, threats, protests and concessions on the other. Year after year, for instance, the valuable saltpetre boats were stopped on their way down to Calcutta, either by the orders of the Subahdar or by his collectors of customs on their own initiative. Sometimes a party of soldiers would be sent up-stream to clear them by force, whence ensued conflicts. On one occasion, it is reported that the boats were fired on from a custom-house, whereon the ensign in charge landed and burnt it after a fight lasting an hour and a half. Another time the boats were attacked by land and water; the English ensign was shot, but twenty or thirty of the customs-people were killed. But these seem to have been cases where the custom officers were acting without orders. When the Subahdar stopped the boats, as in 1708 and 1709, the Council ordered

them to be cleared at any price—in the first case paying 14,000 rupees and in the second 45,000 rupees for the Subahdar's *sanad*. The latter case was particularly exasperating, for within six months of his appointment the Subahdar was dismissed, on which the Diwan of the province immediately demanded 20,000 rupees, with threats of stopping the saltpetre boats again.

This was not the only form that obstruction of trade could take. Another method was to claim customs on English goods under the pretext that they belonged to the Company's native merchants. In some cases this was no doubt quite justifiable; it was found, for example, that President Weltden had been selling the Company's passes. Or a wider form of coercion was resorted to. The authorities could easily forbid merchants to supply the Company with goods for its investment. Thus in 1708 the Governor of Hugli was seeking to make the merchants give a bond not to trade with the English—an effort which promptly extracted 15,000 rupees for the Diwan's *sanad*. In 1711 Robert Hedges was at Kasimbazar. The Diwan was again demanding a high price—45,000 rupees for himself and 15,000 for the Subahdar. The Council were prepared to give only 30,000; and the Diwan accordingly forbade the silk merchants to provide anything. They had assuredly been punished, Hedges says, if they had sold him anything.

By the time that Fort William was fifteen years old, it was clear that the fort and three towns were not sufficient for the Company's needs, if the exactions of the Moghal authorities were to be avoided. The extent of territory was too trifling to allow the maintenance of more than a tiny garrison. Moreover, the Company's trade could not be confined to its limits. Efforts had been made to carry on commerce from Calcutta, but they had failed. The English city was an emporium, not a manufacturing centre. But both these defects might be remedied if additional territory were obtained. Hence Surman's embassy to Farrukh Siyar in the years 1714–17, which after many delays was entirely successful. Permission to purchase the thirty-eight towns that the Council desired was granted; and the Moghal also accorded the right of freely using the royal mint at Murshidabad without paying duties on the bullion carried thither. The news

was received at Calcutta with great rejoicings, with bonfires and salutes, with libations of wine by the Council and of punch by the garrison. But, when the Kasimbazar factors desired Murshid Quli Khan, the Subahdar, to put them in possession of their rights, he explicitly and publicly refused. Whatever the *farmans* may grant, he said, you shall neither use the mint nor purchase the towns. 'This refusal,' the Council resolved when they learnt of the Subahdar's words, 'is not to pass with us for an answer.' But it was the only answer they received for forty years.

Murshid Quli Khan died in 1725, after having ruled Bengal as either Diwan or Subahdar ever since 1701. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Shujah Khan. On the latter's death a short struggle took place between his son Sarfaraz Khan and Allahwirdi Khan; and Allahwirdi, having slain his rival, became Subahdar in 1741. Allahwirdi's government was distinguished by the duration and severity of the Marathas' attack upon Bengal. The war began with Allahwirdi's succession and lasted for ten years; the Marathas finally accepted an annual tribute of twelve lakhs (120,000*l.*) and the cession of Orissa.

It is not a little astonishing that the English entirely failed to improve their position during so long, arduous and indecisive a struggle. If the rebellion of a petty rajah had enabled Fort William to be built in 1697, one would have supposed the repeated invasions of the Bhonsle sufficient to justify the strengthening of the fort, the enlargement of its garrison and the completion of its stores, unless the Presidents of Fort William were supine and the Court of Directors foolish. Indeed, they allowed Allahwirdi to bleed the Company of three lakhs and more, on the strength of the Maratha troubles; but the only addition which was made to the defences of Calcutta, with the exception of a few useless batteries, was an unfinished ditch, dug at the expense of the native merchants. Already in 1725 the timbers in the bastions were so rotten that they had to be propped up. In 1729 the south curtain was rendered defenceless by the building of out-houses which masked the flanking-fire of the bastions. In 1742, after the outbreak of the Maratha troubles, and after the Court had observed the precarious state of Indian politics, both the Italian engineer Forresti

and the Company's commandant Major Knipe condemned Fort William as untenable. But Knipe died at Madras, and Forresti was dismissed by the Court as an extravagant schemer. In 1747 Commodore Griffin saw the fort and pronounced it indefensible. Captain Fenwick in vain attempted to induce the President to erect works to include the fatal church that commanded the gorges of all four bastions. Jaspar Jones, a captain of artillery, addressed to the Council a letter declaring that there was not an embrasure fit to hold a gun or a carriage fit to mount one; the Council only observed that his letter was irregular. So, between the President's indolence and the Council's apathy, the Court's dislike of spending money and the death or neglect of every person competent to advise upon military affairs, Fort William, with ruinous walls unable to bear a gun, with great windows cut in its curtains, with out-buildings that obstructed the fire of the bastions, and with a church and houses near at hand commanding it, looked like a deserted Moorish fort instead of a European stronghold.

Meanwhile, under English rule, Calcutta had grown wealthy and populous, deserving of more prudent Governors. Charnock's mud huts had long given place to well-built mansions. The beauty and prosperity of the settlement is attested by both French and Dutch neighbours. Its population, which Hamilton at the beginning of the century had estimated at 10,000 or 12,000 was estimated by Holwell fifty years later at 400,000. That, like other estimates unsupported by enumeration, is an exaggerated figure; but beyond doubt in Hamilton's time Calcutta was a small town; in Holwell's a large city. Its revenues had grown twenty-fold. As in the other principal settlements of the Company, a Mayor's Court had been established for civil, and a Court of Quarter Sessions for criminal justice. The latter must have been extremely necessary. Young 'writers' were often wild, and seafaring men licentious; while the Council considered itself capable only of sending offenders home. On one occasion a ship's mate had made a man stand still by threats of murder, while he caned him to the effusion of blood. On another, an officer of the garrison ran a man through while he was protesting that he was too drunk to fight. But an even more important tribunal

was the Cutchery Court, in which the Zemindar sat to dispense summary justice. This court was established in 1704, and at the beginning was just like the Choultry Court at Madras. But, whereas the latter was always confined to petty causes and misdemeanours, the Court of Cutchery became the main court for native justice; and the Zemindar could sit and give sentence even on murderers, his judgment merely requiring confirmation by the President. As the Zemindar also collected the revenues, he was, in effect, the controller and manager of the native city. As in early days at Madras, so also in Calcutta, frequent efforts were made by the Company to impose new taxation and by the inhabitants to resist it. Assessments were made for the repair of roads and the building of a court-house and jail; but, though these evoked great clamour, the city continued to grow in wealth and prosperity.

Such was the state of affairs just before the middle of the 18th century, when Dupleix was laying his schemes for the extension of French influence. The twelve years which include the capture of Madras by La Bourdonnais, the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula, the overthrow of that Prince and the establishment of Mir Jafar by English arms, are too crowded with momentous events for a detailed narrative to be attempted here. But the general connexion of events may be briefly suggested. It is very clear that alike in Madras and Calcutta long immunity from attack had bred a general feeling of confidence and carelessness; and at both settlements there was an enormous miscalculation of the action of the native powers. Madras, though far from being in such a helpless condition as Fort William, was still ill-fortified. The western face of Fort St George, in particular, was an old wall supported only by the houses built against it. But though the formation of a new front was under discussion, nothing had been done when La Bourdonnais anchored in the Madras roads. The garrison was recruited, so the Council complained, partly from Newgate and partly from Bedlam. The Directors had resolved on raising the garrison to six hundred Europeans; but there were not three hundred when Madras was captured in 1746. This was bad; but the fatal mistake was made in discouraging Barnett and the English

squadron from attacking Pondichery in 1745. This was done merely in order to soothe the Nawab, Anwar-ud-din Khan. It would have been justifiable if Morse had acceded to Dupleix's proposals for a neutrality in 1744. But Morse displayed an extraordinary pitch of folly in not employing the English squadron to destroy an enemy with whom he had refused to enter into terms. He was, in fact, faced with the choice of disobeying the orders of the Company, who forbade a neutrality with the French, or those of the Nawab, who forbade an attack upon them. By doing neither thoroughly, Morse threw away the English chances at the opening of the war. His error was completed by Peyton, who succeeded to the command of the squadron after Barnett's death. He delivered Madras into Dupleix's hands by deserting it without a shadow of excuse.

Thus Madras fell; but not the English with it; for then were seen the fruits of the preceding century of progress. Fort St David at once took up the struggle. The Company was unwilling to lose its wealthy presidency. Recruits were sent out. The Ministry despatched an expedition; and many of those who sailed on it entered permanently into the Company's service. Before ten years were out, the military strength of the English in southern India was wonderfully increased in numbers as well as improved in *personnel* and in experience of war.

Meanwhile the inhabitants of Calcutta had been living in fear of a French attack, but quite unconscious of the storm that was actually approaching them. Allahwirdi Khan died, prognosticating evil, it was said, of the atrocious European doings in the South, where the Moghal's peace had been so scandalously violated. He was succeeded by Siraj-ud-daula, the very sight of whom was thought ill-omened by his subjects. Angry at an insult supposed or real, he resolved to teach the Europeans a lesson. He appeared before Calcutta. To the surprise of all, it fell.

The progress of the war in the South allowed Madras to send Clive and Watson to reconquer the English position in Bengal; it was recovered as easily as it had been lost; and Siraj-ud-daula, losing his confidence at once, made peace. Then emerged a situation of the greatest interest. Siraj-ud-daula could not be trusted;

already he was seeking for French help to punish the English for their insolence. The French were again at war with the English. Hitherto, neutrality had always been observed in the Ganges; but that had been in the days of strong Nawabs, resolved on maintaining order in their dominions. The English had learnt to their cost the danger of trusting to benevolence. And could the French engage themselves to a firm neutrality? Negotiations took place. Renault at Chandernagore could speak for himself, but could not answer for the authorities at Pondichery or the Mauritius. The true French policy was obvious enough, as Law at Murshidabad urged on Renault. It was to form an alliance with the Nawab and expel the English, even if that necessitated Bussy's marching from the Deccan. Such a policy was perfectly feasible. But De Leyrit from Pondichery had already forbidden it. The truth was that the efforts of the French were spread over an area too wide for their resources. They could not maintain their supremacy in the South, at Aurangabad and in Bengal at the same time. De Leyrit wished to avoid trouble in Bengal, in order that he might secure his position in the South; he could not resolve to order Bussy northwards; he preferred an illusory to a real advantage. Had Renault possessed greater force of character, he might have disobeyed De Leyrit's orders. But the fate of La Bourdonnais and Dupleix was not encouraging to French administrators. So Renault would not ally himself with Siraj-ud-daula, but could not guarantee neutrality. It was the case of Morse once more. Fear of the Abdali and fear of the English kept Siraj-ud-daula from sending effective help to Chandernagore. Thus it fell before Clive and Watson; and the only power which could have supported Siraj-ud-daula was safely removed.

The rest of the tragedy was soon played out. The Nawab, after allowing the French to be overthrown, continued his urgent messages to Bussy for help; he sent money to the Frenchman Law, and uttered threats against Watts and imprecations on the English. Unaccustomed to self-restraint, his heart broke out at every moment. Watched by young impetuous Scrafton, sleepless with excitement at the great impending event, and by subtle, clear-sighted Watts, with his impenetrable

caution; urged on to excesses by the Setts, the great native bankers, eager to hasten his fall lest they themselves should be numbered with his victims; terrified by the mysterious whispers of Omichand, and faced by the iron resolution of Clive, the Nawab displayed a fatuity and incompetence that could hardly be surpassed. All Calcutta knew of the conspiracy against him. The bankers of his capital had already discounted it. Yet he chose such a time to quarrel with the leader of his army, and his destined successor, Mir Jafar, and never ceased to disgust and offend his principal ministers. So the inevitable end came with the scattering of his suspicious troops at Plassey, his hurried flight, his recognition by a victim of his cruelty, and his murder in the palace at Murshidabad.

Thus closely were events both in the Carnatic and Bengal woven together. Without the increased establishment caused by the French war, Clive could not have recovered Calcutta; without Dupleix's ambition, the French war need not have spread to India; without the opulence and power engendered by a century of quiet growth, the Company could neither have possessed fortresses and cities, nor have enlisted the English Ministry on its behalf. There could have been no wars had not great interests been at stake; and those great interests were of older growth. The origin of the whole must therefore be sought, not in the vain schemes of Dupleix or even the resolute genius of Clive, but in the obscure doings of humble 'factors' for a hundred years before. Even when deduction is made for their vices and errors, surely they were profitable servants.

H. DODWELL.

Art. 3.—HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT IN REGARD
TO SOCIAL REFORM.

1. *Heredity*. By J. A. Thomson. London: Murray, 1908.
2. *The Laws of Heredity*. By G. Archdall Reid. London: Methuen, 1910.
3. *Disorders of Post-Natal Growth and Development*. By Hastings Gilford. London: Adlard, 1911.
4. *Outlines of Evolutionary Biology*. By Arthur Dendy. London: Constable, 1912.
5. *Descendants of Immigrants*. By Franz Boas. London: Frowde, 1913.
6. *Problems of Life and Reproduction*. (Progressive Science Series.) By Marcus Hartog. London: Murray, 1913.

And other works.

It will be generally admitted that the efficiency of a nation depends at the bottom, not upon the nature of its laws, religion, and social institutions, but upon the condition of its people. No doubt there is a correlation between the two; sooner or later the one inevitably tends to react upon the other; but it is the condition of the people which is the primary and essential factor in national progress or decadence. This being the case, the function of the State must be to secure the highest possible mental and physical development of the mass of its citizens; and this must be the objective of all true social reform.

The factors concerned in this development are numerous and varied, but all of them may be referred to one of two groups. They are either intrinsic or extrinsic, that is, due to *heredity* or *environment*; and it is the relative influence of these in the development of the individual and the well-being of the community which it is proposed to consider. Such a consideration seems not inopportune, because it is a subject on which widely divergent views are maintained, and even professional biologists are divided into two distinct schools regarding the effects of heredity and environment upon the course of evolution. More than a hundred years ago (in 1809) Lamarck propounded the view that the offspring might start life from a higher developmental plane owing to the transmission of qualities acquired by its immediate

antecedents. A similar opinion was held by Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, the former explaining such occurrence by his 'provisional hypothesis of Pangenesis,' the latter by his theory of 'Biological Units.' But with the discovery of the continuity of the germ plasm, and largely as a result of the writings of August Weismann, opinion underwent a profound change. Weismann has since very materially modified his views as to the effect of the environment upon the germ plasm; but the insistence upon its immutability by such writers as Sir Ray Lankester and Dr Archdall Reid has caused it to be assumed by the laity that this immutability of the germ is now an established fact, and that variations are never due to the action of the environment, but are 'spontaneous' in origin.

This state of mind is manifest even in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded, which declared that, while mental defect had a strong tendency to be inherited, it was usually 'spontaneous' in origin. It is, however, quite a mistake to imagine that this view of the impossibility of the germ plasm being modified by the environment, or even of the non-transmission of acquirements, is held by all biologists. On the contrary, during the last few years there has been a distinct reaction from the elaborate theories of Weismann, as well as from the mechanical doctrine of the phenomena of life; and several valuable works have been published reaffirming the Lamarckian and vitalistic positions. One of the most recent and important is that of Prof. Marcus Hartog on 'Problems of Life and Reproduction.' In this work the author shows that the reproductive division of the cell takes place in accordance with a force which he designates 'mitokinetism,' and which differs from any physical force with which we are at present acquainted; he further shows that this cell-division is a natural provision for the removal of senescence; he discusses the whole problem of fertilisation, adduces many arguments and instances in favour of the transmission of acquired characters, and reaffirms the vitalistic as opposed to the mechanical or physico-chemical theory of life. Prof. Hartog will, no doubt, incur the *odium biologicum* for these opinions, but the arguments and facts brought forward are such as cannot be ignored in any honest attempt to arrive at the

true factors underlying development; and his book is exceedingly interesting as showing the existence of a band of workers, endeavouring fearlessly to seek the truth.

Wefindasimilar divergence of opinion with regard to the methods of social reform. On the one hand, the Eugenists are supposed to hold the opinion that heredity counts for everything, and that the influence of the environment, if it exists at all, is so infinitesimal that it may be entirely ignored. On the other hand, the Environists, if I may so term them, hold the exactly opposite view. According to them, heredity is of no moment; all individuals are born with equal potentialities; and the inequalities which subsequently appear are entirely due to the surroundings. They consequently seek the remedy for all human and social defects in an improvement of the environment. It may be that such restricted views as these are only held by the most extreme protagonists of either school; nevertheless they mark two distinct lines of thought which are very apparent in propaganda and suggested policy, and they serve as a convenient standpoint from which the question may be discussed.

Now even a casual acquaintance with the facts of everyday life should be sufficient to show the falsity of such extreme ideas. It is obvious that both heredity and environment, nature and nurture, must play a part in the production of each individual. Indeed, when the matter is considered closely, the connexion between them is seen to be much more intimate than is commonly supposed, and it is by no means easy to say where the one begins and the other ends. The rôle of the germ plasm, which constitutes the organic link between successive generations, is not to transmit organs and tissues already laid down in miniature, as was formerly thought, but merely to hand on certain potentialities of development. Before these potentialities can be realised some kind of *milieu* is clearly essential; and hence environment must be concerned in, and a condition of, all development. On the other hand, even if it could be shown that the appearance of some particular quality or property of the individual was largely the result of external influences—as, for instance, the development of pigment in the epithelial cells of animals exposed to bright sunshine—it is clear

that this could never have been produced without an inherent potentiality for such development. The point to be emphasised is that the life-cycle of every individual is an incessant reaction between intrinsic tendency and extrinsic stimulus, and that his condition is necessarily dependent not on heredity *or* environment, but on *both*.

It does not follow, however, that these two factors exert an equal influence. It is possible for the inherent tendency to the development of a particular quality to be so potent that no action of the environment is specially needed for its manifestation; on the other hand, the tendency may be so slight that no condition of the environment, however favourable, suffices to call the quality into being. A familiar instance of the former occurs in the black skin of negroes born in temperate climates, and of the latter in the absence of pigment of the albino. It is, however, with such qualities as make for the efficiency or non-efficiency of society that we are particularly concerned; and the problem is to ascertain the relative parts which these two factors play in their development.

During recent years numerous attempts have been made to solve this problem; but many of them are far from satisfactory. Those who have approached the subject from the point of view of heredity have only too often ignored the possible effect of the environment; whilst those who have dealt with it from the aspect of the environment have been too prone to exclude the possible influence of heredity. Undoubtedly the researches of both Mendelians and Biometricians have led to the discovery of facts of the utmost importance; but it cannot be too strongly urged that such human qualities as 'character,' 'ability' and 'social efficiency' are extremely complex, and in dealing with them the greatest care is needed to ascertain all the factors involved. It is only when all these possible influences have been sifted to the bottom in each case, and a sufficiently large series of such cases collected, that the establishment of general conclusions becomes possible.

For instance, the recurrence, generation after generation, of some particular aptitude, trait or peculiarity may be due to a marked tendency deeply ingrained in the

family ; but it may also be due to the fact that each successive generation has been exposed to an environment especially favourable for its production. It is quite likely that many so-called inherited qualities, such, for example, as ability in music, art or administration, may in this way be as much influenced by early surroundings and training as by heredity. The only proof of the existence of a tendency in marked degree would be the development of the quality in spite of the environment. On the other hand, it cannot be questioned that the attempt to correlate certain individual peculiarities with certain particular factors of the environment, regardless of the possible influence of heredity, may readily give rise to most fallacious conclusions.

With regard to many anatomical conditions, the evidence is now sufficiently clear to enable fairly definite statements to be made. We know, for instance, that the general bodily conformation of man, together with certain particular deviations therefrom, are determined by heredity. With regard to the psychological attributes of mankind, however, using this term to embrace his moral, mental and social qualities, there is much more difficulty, and further research is greatly needed.

I propose first of all to deal with heredity and environment as they affect the individual, and it will be convenient to consider first stature and physical development. It is a well-known fact that stature and physique vary with race and even with nationality. The tall Patagonians, the dwarfed Fuegians, the massive Teutons, and the small Laplanders and Japanese are sufficiently familiar examples. It is possible that to some extent these differences may be induced by differences of climate, food and mode of life ; but that they are largely hereditary is shown by the fact that they still tend to persist in individuals born and reared in foreign surroundings. Even in a mixed race like the English, living under practically identical conditions, the average stature of those of Teutonic and those of Celtic ancestry is markedly different. The influence of heredity in determining stature has, indeed, been fully demonstrated by experiments conducted on Mendelian lines.

It does not follow, however, that the environment has no effect ; on the contrary, there are many reasons for

thinking that its influence may be considerable. The child born of a debilitated mother is often, although not invariably, smaller than the offspring of a healthy mother, even though there be no hereditary defect. It is now generally admitted that not only the health, but also the age, of the mother has an influence upon the child's vitality and physique; and it seems probable that this is due to the fact that the maternal capacity for nourishing the embryo requires some time to attain its maximum, and then undergoes a gradual decline. Again, children born and reared in city slums are on the average smaller than those of similar stocks brought up under more healthy conditions; and a great acceleration of development takes place when they are removed to more healthy surroundings. Youths who pass the greater part of their day in stuffy offices, ill-ventilated workshops, insanitary houses and factories, or in coal-mines, do not develop to the same extent as those brought up under more hygienic conditions. Severe illness often operates to check the growth of the child, and sometimes to such an extent that even when recovery has taken place, the arrears are never fully made up.

There is some evidence that during the past fifty years the average stature of the population of this and several other European nations has been raised; indeed, it has been stated by Dr Soren Hansen that the mean height to-day is between one and two inches more than it was at the former period. The improvement which has been brought about in the surroundings of the people during this time is well known; and hence it might be assumed that this result clearly shows the unimportance of heredity. But this by no means follows. One possible explanation may be that the altered social conditions tend to encourage a relative preponderance of the naturally taller stocks; but the most likely explanation would seem to be that these improvements are now permitting development, formerly impeded by unsanitary conditions, to take place in a more natural manner. The recently discovered skeletons of prehistoric men demonstrate the existence of types whose stature was practically identical with that of those living to-day; and the general conclusion to which we are forced is that, whilst each individual inherits a certain potentiality of bodily

growth, this may fail to take effect owing to an adverse environment.

Let us now turn to another condition of the greatest importance, namely, that of disease. It is commonly thought that the influence of the environment in the production of disease far transcends that of heredity; and there is no doubt that such factors as exposure, imperfect sanitation, unsuitable food, improper and unhealthy modes of life, are responsible for many morbid conditions. The greater our knowledge of the physiological requirements of the body, and the more widespread our application of that knowledge, the higher will be the standard of individual health. Moreover, it is now well recognised that a large number of diseases are due to infection from without by microbes; and there is little doubt that further research will result in a still larger proportion of diseases being attributed to this cause. But it must not be assumed that for these reasons environment counts for everything and heredity for nothing. To take the case of infections, although an external agent is essential, yet this may be introduced into the system without necessarily giving rise to the particular disease. Individuals differ enormously in their susceptibility to germs; some persons are quite immune, and relative or complete immunity is often a family quality, and is clearly inherited. Scarlet fever is a disease complete immunity to which is not uncommon. The susceptibility of different families and stocks to the tubercle bacillus varies within a very wide range; and the practised physician has learned by experience that the prognosis in any person who becomes infected is more apt to be dependent upon the family history than upon the particular clinical symptoms.

Such inherited differences of constitution may even bring about a racial change, owing to the survival and propagation of the immune and the extinction of the susceptible. Thus measles, which is a frequent and comparatively harmless complaint amongst civilised peoples, is as fatal as the plague when introduced into a community for the first time. As has been well pointed out by Dr Archdall Reid, the immunity of a nation to a morbid process is directly proportionate to its previous

experience of that process. Even when we consider those diseases which are the result of exposure, defective hygiene and the like, heredity still exerts an influence which cannot be ignored. Natural resistance, longevity, and a tendency to premature decay, are undoubtedly heritable qualities. Probably no diseases, as such, any more than organs, as such, are ever 'inherited'; but there is not the slightest doubt that a hereditary tendency to particular derangements of function and to premature senility of particular tissues, what is called a 'diathesis,' is exceedingly common. Indeed, my experience is that such inherited defects of constitution lie at the root of a very large amount of the disease to which man is subject, even that which is directly excited by the environment. Dr Hastings Gilford has recently drawn attention to this in a most exhaustive and interesting work on the disorders of development. In some cases the inborn tendency is so potent that the disease makes its appearance whatever the nature of the environment, being in fact actually called 'hereditary.' Examples are to be found in hæmophilia, some forms of spinal paralysis and chorea, certain morbid conditions of the eye, etc. Many family histories have now been published showing the repeated occurrence of these diseases generation after generation, amidst an environment not differing from the ordinary.

One particular form of disease has such important and far-reaching social consequences as to merit special attention, namely disease of the mind. There are some varieties of insanity which are certainly brought about by faults of the environment; for example, poisons introduced into the body from without, or generated by the body itself, may interfere with the function of the brain cells to such an extent that the person becomes insane. In other cases the mind may be gradually worn down by long-continued strain, by domestic woes or business worries; and the high pressure incident to modern life unquestionably imposes a greater strain upon the nervous system than did the simpler life led by our forefathers, and so conduces to mental breakdown. Indeed, in many cases of insanity enquiry will reveal the presence of some adverse factor of the environment which has determined the attack. But recent enquiries have shown that something more than this is necessary. Certain individuals

may be subjected to the most intense mental and physical stress, to privations, intoxications, bereavement, domestic tribulation, even financial ruin, without showing the slightest tendency to lose their reason; and it is now well established that the effect of such troubles is comparatively slight, provided there is no inherited predisposition to insanity. From family histories, which have been carefully compiled, it is clear that, in the great majority of persons who become insane, there is a well-marked hereditary tendency; and all lunacy experts are now agreed that it is this, rather than the environment, which is the essential cause of most cases of mental breakdown. With regard to that still more serious intellectual disability—mental deficiency—the part played by heredity is even more marked. I have shown that between 80 and 90 per cent. of such cases are the result of a morbid inheritance, the remaining small proportion being caused by accident or some form of acquired cerebral lesion. The influence of heredity in this condition is so potent that, if only one parent is mentally defective, the children will rarely be up to the normal standard, while I have not yet seen normal children where both parents were so.

The opposite condition of mental ability and resistance is also largely determined by inheritance. It is perfectly true that education is necessary to bring out this inherent potentiality; and in the absence of this the child most highly endowed by nature would cut but a sorry figure. Moreover there is good reason for thinking that even the best training and environment at present existing rarely suffice to bring about the full development of which any individual brain is capable. But there can be no greater mistake than to imagine that nature's dullards can be converted into persons of ability by means of education. The examination of many thousands of school-children has convinced me that not only do great differences exist in the degree of natural capacity, but that these differences run in families and are undoubtedly inherited.

As already remarked, the investigation of the relative influences of heredity and environment in the development of character presents great difficulties. To a great extent this arises from the complexity of the subject to be investigated, for character is dependent on no single

and simple elemental quality, but is the resultant of the entire cerebration of the individual. Even such special personal qualities as honesty, sobriety, rectitude, thrift and their opposites, the combination of which make up the 'character' of each unit, are far from being simple qualities, but are each dependent upon a complexity of mental reactions and interactions. On the whole, however, it seems likely that we may analyse individual character into three chief factors, namely, (1) its range of conception; (2) its power of volition; (3) its mental temperament or disposition.

With regard to the first of these, there can be no question that a person's conceptions are influenced very largely by the nature of his upbringing. For instance, where, by reiterated precept and example, the ideals of honour and duty are constantly placed before the child, a criterion will be formed which cannot fail to play a part in influencing his future conduct. If, on the other hand, the early atmosphere is one of selfishness, thriftlessness and dishonesty, this standard will be unknown to him, and conduct will be defective. But it must be remembered that the formation of such conceptions is a psychological process dependent upon brain structure, and necessitating the presence of a certain inherent brain capacity; and this capacity varies greatly in different individuals as a result of inherited tendencies. In some, such acquirement is easy, in others more difficult, while in others again the intrinsic defect is so great as to render impossible the formation of such ideals, whatever the nature of the environment. For instance, there are persons who are fundamentally incapable of acquiring a 'moral sense'; and this condition is characteristic of one variety of mental deficiency. Similarly there are persons who are intrinsically incapable of developing an 'aesthetic' or a 'religious' sense.

With regard to the second factor—will-power—it should be noticed that a 'good' character is more apt to depend upon will exerted towards the inhibition rather than the initiation of action, in short upon control. This may certainly be developed by training and discipline, and the child who has only to express a wish to have it gratified, and who never learns to control his impulses while young, is not likely at a later age to subjugate his

desires to the good of the community—the result being vice, thriftlessness and anti-social conduct. But here also inheritance plays a part; and there are many individuals so inherently defective in will that, even if they know the right course, they are incapable of shaping their conduct and inevitably take the line of least resistance.

The third factor—temperament or disposition—is dependent upon the type of mental reaction and seems to be chiefly a matter of inheritance. But while particular families may be characterised on the whole by a particular temperament, it is to be remembered that the ancestry of each individual is extremely complex, and that, in consequence of this, heredity alone may give rise to considerable differences among the offspring of the same parents. No observant father of a tolerably large family can fail to notice the differences in the type of mental action, and the different mental characteristics, which distinguish his children from one another from the earliest months or even weeks of life. These may subsequently undergo some modification, but it is by no means uncommon to find that such features as acquisitiveness, gaiety, sombreness, timidity, pugnacity, docility, to mention but a few, appear quite spontaneously in the young child and persist throughout life. Such can only be due to innate tendencies.

To sum up, 'character' is extremely complex. It is made up of certain inherited tendencies *plus* certain mental habits produced by training. In some individuals the presence of inherent defects of perception or will, or of strong tendencies towards the development of anti-social qualities, forms an insuperable barrier to right conduct, social worth and efficiency. In the absence of such inherited defects, a person's conduct and behaviour will probably be largely influenced by the nature of his early training. It is a very important fact that one of the chief functions of the brain-cells is that of receiving impressions and forming associations, and that the brain comes under the influence of external agencies at a time when development is still very incomplete. Leaving pathological germinal tendencies out of account, the ancestry of the ordinary individual is so complex that his potentialities for development are extremely varied. He contains the seeds of both good and evil; and it seems

likely that the nature of his early environment will very largely determine which of these are developed.

The effect of heredity is shown in the fact that a child may turn out an incorrigible rogue and vagabond under the best training. The influence of environment is shown by the fact that children rescued at an early age from the worst surroundings may develop into thoroughly satisfactory citizens; of this I have seen many examples, and I attribute it to the fact that the parents' depravity was acquired and not symptomatic of hereditary defect. It is also impossible to ignore the complete change of character which is often brought about, even in later life, through the influence of religious ideals. Heredity determines the quality and plasticity of the material, but environment supplies the mould.

Hitherto we have dealt with the relative influences of heredity and environment in the development of the individual; it is now necessary to consider them in regard to the community and the race. It is often assumed that the highest possible development of each individual member of the community is necessarily synonymous with the highest possible development of the community as a whole; but this is by no means the case. As already pointed out, the developmental potentiality of some individuals is so defective that no environment, however favourable, is able to convert them into efficient citizens. There are also individuals who possess tendencies to the development of anti-social qualities so potent that no training or education can avail to nullify them. The presence of such people is necessarily a bar to the community attaining the highest degree of efficiency; this can only be reached when an optimum environment operates on an optimum developmental potentiality; and the question which now confronts us is how this potentiality may be brought about—by heredity or by environment.

First, with regard to environment—is it possible by improvement of this to remedy germinal defects or to augment germinal potentiality? It is plain that this question of the influence of the environment upon the germ-plasm is really the old and oft-debated one of the transmission of acquired characters. Assuming, first of

all, that there is no marked germinal imperfection, may the increased individual development brought about by training and education, or the higher standard of health resulting from improved sanitation, so affect the germ-plasm that the next generation will start with a heightened potentiality? Fifty years ago the answer would have been in the affirmative; and Darwin explained the *modus operandi* of evolution by the hypothesis that the germ-cell was made up of infinitely small particles ('gemmules') derived from each organ of the body, so that the condition of these organs was naturally reflected in the resulting offspring. But there is now every reason for thinking that the germ-plasm is 'continuous,' and that it is to be regarded, not as a fresh product manufactured anew by each individual, but as a detachment from a protoplasmic substance which has existed from the beginning of life, remaining separate in the body of each individual until such time as a portion of it is again handed on to form a subsequent generation.

Since the germ-plasm is thus continuous, and since the germ-cells are in no way derived from the body or somatic cells, but solely from existing germ-plasm, it is contended that they cannot possibly be affected by any increased function developed or acquired by any bodily organs. For instance, it is held that, while use may increase the size and strength of the muscles to the highest limit, and while education may raise a person to the highest intellectual level, the germ-cells will be entirely unaffected by these changes—that, in short, acquired properties are not transmitted. The continuity of the germ-plasm may probably be taken as established; and it must be admitted that many biologists accept the view of the non-transmission of acquirements largely for this very reason. But this consent is by no means universal; several eminent authorities hold the contrary view; and the question must still be regarded as not settled. Probably no one now accepts Darwin's theory of gemmules or pangenesis; but during recent years it has been ascertained that many of the body organs, if they do not secrete gemmules, yet provide an internal secretion which is of vital necessity to the physiological function of the entire body. The future may show that this is the case with all organs, that the quality of the secretion varies with

organic development and function, and that it is capable of influencing the developmental capacity of the corresponding 'determinant' in the germ-cell.

However this may be, I cannot but feel that the doctrine of the immutability of the germ-plasm has been carried too far; indeed, in his more recent works Weismann has himself admitted the possibility of its modification by the environment. Many years spent in the investigation of family histories has led me to the opinion that certain bodily diseases may so impair the germ-cell, in whole or in part, as to produce distinct pathological variations, which are capable of transmission to subsequent generations; and I believe this to be the origin of many of the defects and inabilities, particularly mental, which run in families to-day. How this effect is produced I do not know. It may be that particular germinal 'determinants' (or constituents) are liable to be affected by a particular order of poisons generated in the body during the course of a disease, or that they are deprived of some essential food constituent; but that the germ-cells may be prejudicially affected by such agencies I entertain no doubt. It is, indeed, inconceivable that it should be otherwise, and that the germ-plasm should lead a charmed life utterly uninfluenced by the nature of the fluids in which it is bathed and upon which it is dependent for its sustenance. These views are becoming more and more accepted; and there is now a very considerable belief that such conditions in the parents as extreme tuberculosis, alcoholism, syphilis, lead-poisoning and possibly other deleterious conditions as yet unrecognised, may so diminish the vital capacity of the whole or certain portions of the germ-cell as to produce transmissible pathological variations.

But if this be true of adverse conditions, may not the opposite be true? The whole question of the causation of germinal variations, progressive and retrogressive, is still far from being understood, and is urgently in need of study; but it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that, since a pernicious environment may initiate retrogressive transmissible changes, so an improved environment may give still freer scope to the marvellous creative energy of the germ material, and thereby conduce to progressive changes and the further evolution of the

race. In this connexion the researches which have recently been made by Prof. Franz Boas, regarding the descendants of immigrants in America, are of great interest and importance. From a careful series of measurements of stature, weight, cephalic index and physiological development, Boas finds that considerable variations from the original racial type have taken place; and he considers that these can only have been caused by the influence of a changed environment.

While, therefore, we are not justified in denying the possibility of the environment modifying or augmenting germinal capacity for development, it yet appears fairly certain that the lapse of many generations may take place before this effect is at all considerable. Moreover, augmentation of potentiality can probably only occur when the germ-plasm is healthy to start with. As we have seen, there are many individuals whose potentiality for development is already impaired; and our knowledge of heredity is sufficient to show that such impairments are transmissible. With regard to the precise laws governing this transmission we are still imperfectly informed. Some qualities conform to Mendel's laws, others do not; and there is great need for further research regarding these matters. If the impairment is but slight, it seems likely that several generations of suitable mating may eradicate it, although in so doing there is the danger that the better stocks may be dragged down to the level of the inferior. It is also probable that at any time the latent tendency may again burst forth into full bloom under the influence of a congenial environment. If the impairment is pronounced, however, experience shows only too plainly that the most favourable external conditions, continued generation after generation, will fail to stamp it out. This is the case with mental defect, with many forms of insanity, also with certain tendencies to disease. Where degeneracy is firmly established, attempts to improve the stock through the medium of the environment are futile.

Let us now briefly consider the other factor, namely, heredity. Whether arising 'spontaneously' (which term is but a confession of ignorance) or in consequence of the environment, there is no doubt that germinal variations, once produced, strongly tend to be transmissible. We

have seen the part which these inherent tendencies play in the development of the individual; their persistence, generation after generation, causes them to play a still more important part in the progress and evolution of the race. The mating of two products of germinal impairment not only usually results in the transmission of the defect, but in many instances the defect actually becomes augmented. Thus the marriage of two persons with a slight neuropathic tendency often results in some of the offspring being definitely insane. The marriage of two persons, predisposed to insanity, often results in offspring who either develop the insanity at an earlier age or in a severer form; very often the stage is carried still further and assumes the form of incomplete structural development or mental defect. Again, the union of two persons who are only slightly mentally defective frequently results in a greater degree of deficiency, such as idiocy. These phenomena may not be fully explicable on the Mendelian doctrine of the segregation of unit characters, but they are clinical facts of much significance.

May the converse occur? There is no doubt that a high developmental capacity is germinal and just as transmissible as is germinal defect; consequently, if propagation could be restricted to the sound and capable and denied to the diseased and incapable, the aggregate efficiency of the community would necessarily be raised; but would it be possible to increase inherent potentiality of development by this means? The analogy of the augmentation of defect suggests that it would, and that heredity supplies us with the means, to an incomparably greater extent than environment, not merely of stamping out a threatening degeneracy, but of carrying forward the evolution of the race.

It will be apparent from the foregoing remarks that there is still much to be learned regarding the influence of these two factors upon the development of the individual and the evolution of the race. These are matters of vital importance to any community; and no government can be regarded as fulfilling its duty which fails to make them objects of its first consideration. Governments, learned societies and private individuals spend enormous sums of money on geographical surveys,

ethnographical and archæological explorations, astronomical and meteorological investigations; but the conditions which influence the development, the progress, and decay of man himself, are practically ignored.

In spite of this imperfection of knowledge, however, certain facts are undeniable. With regard to the individual, it is clear that inheritance plays a most important part, and that the effect of environment is practically limited to affording or withholding opportunities for the realisation of such potentiality as is inherent. This potentiality varies enormously in different individuals; some possess capabilities which only need favourable surroundings to ensure a very high degree of social worth; others are so fundamentally defective that no environment, however favourable, will suffice to raise them to a condition of social fitness. It is necessary to emphasise this point, if only in order to lessen the waste of money, time and energy expended in the fruitless endeavour to make silk purses out of sows' ears.

While it is exceedingly doubtful whether the present environment is such as to bring about the realisation of the full capacity of any individual, it is certain that in many persons the falling short is very great indeed. This is very marked in the case of those children who, while not being mentally deficient, have yet little aptitude for scholastic development. The present rigid system of elementary education only too often results in unfitting them for anything but 'blind alley' occupations and, eventually, casual labour, whilst suitable manual and industrial training would almost certainly have the effect of converting a large number of them into useful members of society. If the individual optimum is to be obtained, it is essential that a closer study should be made of the capabilities of each child, and that the curriculum should be modified to suit the individual.

There can be no doubt that the great and rapid industrial development of the past 150 years has brought about profound changes in the personal habits, conditions of life and employment of a large section of the population, which are inimical to the full development of their inherent capacity, and the most strenuous efforts must be made to overcome these evils. To some extent this is being accomplished, and the physical, and to a less

degree the intellectual, development of the people is now receiving more attention. But so far little, or practically nothing, has been done to inculcate high ideals, to teach discipline and control, and to develop character. And it must be admitted that a series of conditions has arisen which are only too well calculated to bring about the degradation of this essential to national prosperity. The teachings of the Church are fast ceasing to exert a living influence; parental responsibility and discipline are rapidly on the wane; the supply of cheap amusements, half-day excursions and trashy literature have combined to create a demand for pleasure and indulgence which is fast sapping the power for, and interest in, steady sustained work; the hire-purchase and credit systems invite persons to live beyond their means, and are threatening to abolish thrift; and self-reliance is only too readily weakened, and the spirit of dependence fostered by the hundred and one varieties of indiscriminate charity. I do not suggest that the whole nation is suffering thereby; this is far from being the case; but it is obvious that these things are not likely to conduce to the development of 'grit' and character, and no observant person can fail to notice that the desire for luxury, softness and amusement is on the increase, whilst work, duty and obligation are relegated to a second place. It can hardly be wondered at that, in spite of newspaper booms and endless 'recruiting weeks,' the Territorial Force should be fifty thousand short of its establishment! It is to such means as the Boy Scout movement of General Sir R. Baden Powell, the Duty and Discipline movement of Lord Meath, and the advocacy of National Service by Lord Roberts that we must look for improvement.

With regard to the future of the community, if, as I believe to be the case, certain forms of germinal deficiency may be caused by an adverse environment, then improvement of the environment will tend to prevent these defects arising in the future, and will thus contribute to racial advance. Moreover, it is not impossible that such improvement may also, eventually, result in an increase of developmental potentiality. But the racial effect produced by such means must in any case be relatively slight, and is far transcended by the influence of heredity. The fact remains that like tends to beget like, and that

consequently, if the highest development of the community as a whole is to be attained, the laws of heredity must be closely studied and applied. The nation must breed from its best; at all events, it must take especial care to prevent the propagation of those who are so inherently defective that their regeneration by the environment is out of the question. I have pointed out on many previous occasions that this degenerate section of society is increasing in greater ratio than is that of the germinally fit. Unless this is checked it is obvious that not only can no advance be made, but that the numerical preponderance of the unfit and the degeneracy of the nation is merely a matter of time and a sum in arithmetic.

It is thus seen that, while the capacity for development is chiefly dependent upon heredity, the presence of an optimum environment is essential for the full realisation of that capacity. It necessarily follows that both these influences must be utilised in any serious attempt to improve the well-being of the general community. It is inevitable, and indeed advantageous, that the respective advocates of environment and heredity should concern themselves with their own particular line of attack. The improvement of the environment has many advocates and is not at present in much danger of being neglected. The influence of heredity, however, is far from being sufficiently recognised, and there is great need of the wider promulgation of eugenic principles. But the point I wish to insist upon is that there need be no antagonism between the two schools, so long as it is recognised that each is incomplete without the other, and that they are both working for the common good.

The enforcement of laws regulating environment has in times past aroused no little opposition, and it is only to be expected that the same will be the case with the enforcement of the principles of Eugenics. Both entail a certain amount of interference with what is called the liberty of the subject, and a hysterical and prejudiced populace will not fail to place this before the good of the State. Under a democratic form of government no legislation much ahead of popular opinion can be carried; and this is the chief danger arising when a democratic form of government is evolved in advance of the educa-

tion of the democracy. In such circumstances the combination of an imperfectly informed electorate with a paid professional legislature is only too apt to conduce to the establishment of a vicious circle, in which true social science is prostituted by the promulgation of so-called reforms which are a mere pandering to the present, rather than part of a definite system designed to further the real development and progress of the nation. This danger can only be averted when the government is in the hands of men of keen intelligence, high ideals and firm purpose.

In conclusion, I am well aware of the not infrequent statement that evolution has come to an end, and that the future progress of man must consist, not in the perfection of man himself, but in that of his social environment. Even if this were true, it is undeniable that racial retrogression may occur, and this fact alone would necessitate the closest attention being paid to man in his racial aspect. But there is the gravest reason to disbelieve the truth of the assertion. Not only is it incredible that this stupendous process of evolution should have worked itself out, that modern man with all his manifest imperfections of body and mind should be its culmination and final achievement; but there is evidence that progressive variations are still taking place. The whole record of the past reveals within the germ-plasm such a power to expand and progress, such a creative energy, that it is far more probable that evolution will only cease with the occurrence of secular changes terminating life itself. Since it is impossible to foresee the final form of this evolution, the guiding principle must be, not to cripple development by imposing upon man some preconceived social system, some Utopian scheme of life and government, but to assist his development to the full by the scientific application of those principles which have guided it in the past and must continue to guide it in the future, namely, heredity, environment and selection. This is the fundamental basis of true social reform.

A. F. TREGOLD.

Art. 4.—SHELBURNE AND WINDHAM.

1. *The Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards First Marquess of Lansdowne.* By Lord Fitzmaurice. Second and Revised Edition. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1912.
2. *The Windham Papers.* With an introduction by the Earl of Rosebery. Two vols. London: Jenkins, 1913.

No two contemporary figures in our political history offer a more obvious contrast, alike in character, record, political creed and outlook on life than the first Marquess of Lansdowne, better known as Lord Shelburne, and William Windham, the disciple of Burke and the colleague in office both of the younger Pitt and of Charles Fox. Shelburne's and Windham's lives are an effective epitome of the reign of George III. From the Seven Years' War and the Peace of Paris, through the struggles that centre round Wilkes and the American question, down to the war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, and the issues raised by the movement for Parliamentary Reform, the Industrial Revolution and the unequal contest between British 'Jacobinism' and the champions of 'order,' every important episode, imperial, domestic or economic, the problems alike of policy and ideas, of intellectual and moral evolution are raised in succession by their careers. The careers themselves ask a peremptory and personal question. Why do these two men occupy so meagre a place in our text-books, and why is the imprint to-day of their memory and reputation so faint? Both fill a large, at times an imposing, space in the contemporary records. Shelburne was a Prime Minister. Of Windham it was said in 1793 that his judgment and line of conduct might make or mar a ministry and decide the destinies of Great Britain. Yet it is no uncharitable exaggeration to assert that posterity has forgotten Shelburne's ministerial achievements, and remembers him only as 'the Jesuit of Berkeley Square' and the subject of some immortal lines in the *Rolliad*. And if Windham is remembered at all, it is with a vague recollection that he was responsible apparently for disastrous military enterprises, and was the intimate friend of the Tory Johnson and the Whig Burke—a

friend whom to know was to love, and to love was a liberal education. Why did Shelburne and Windham fail? If biography is life without theory, it ought to supply a convincing answer to a question from which no student of 18th century history can escape.

When Lord Fitzmaurice's biography of Shelburne was published nearly forty years ago, it was at once recognised as a first-rate and solid contribution to historical knowledge. The three volumes were based on original sources, and for the first time the case for Shelburne was adequately set out. The new and revised edition in two volumes increases the student's debt to the author. Since 1876 the material both for a study of Shelburne and of his times has enormously increased. A careful comparison of the revised with the original edition reveals that Lord Fitzmaurice has spared no pains to utilise and incorporate, where necessary, the new sources, particularly the evidence in the numerous Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; while the text and the notes show, in more instances than it is possible here to enumerate, that the new edition is no mere reprint of the old, but a careful, honest and scholarly revision, actuated by the desire of an expert to make his monument of *pietas* to a notable ancestor as complete and finished as industry and knowledge can make it. The biography of statesmen must always gain if the biographer can add to the requisite qualifications of an historical expert a first-hand knowledge of public life, and the indefinable touch that personal and prolonged acquaintance with politics, public affairs and public men alone can give. Academic judgments in history may be the outcome of a meritorious erudition and an earnest determination to find the truth; they are too often deficient in the direct knowledge of political and public life and in the subtle *nuances* and readjusted values which practical experience of men and great affairs imparts. Lord Fitzmaurice as a biographer has the advantage of knowing diplomacy and public affairs at first hand. A peevish critic might remark that his writing is cold, his treatment too objective, his attitude so judicial that the judgments are balanced into a disappointing neutrality. If enthusiasm for Shelburne is impossible, as it probably is, we could wish that Lord Fitzmaurice had not, on more than one occasion, denied

himself the luxury and duty of telling his readers not only what he really thought of Shelburne, but of many other persons and affairs, and of pronouncing a clear verdict on the many transactions with which Shelburne was directly concerned, instead of presenting us with weighty considerations for suspending sentence or refusing to adopt the traditional view. For one reader in particular he has failed to draw a convincing and living portrait of Shelburne—the man—and to solve the conundrum why, if Shelburne was what the sifted evidence suggests, his career has to be carefully reconstructed in order to justify his contemporary reputation; why, if he had the many attractive qualities and gifts that investigation reveals, the opinion of all his contemporaries was so uniformly and depressingly unfavourable. 'But these be toys,' as Bacon said. Lord Fitzmaurice's biography is and will remain the standard authority, in which critics must quarry for their material, and with which they must seriously reckon.

Windham has fared worse; nor indeed has the singular and persistent misfortune which has robbed both Windham and history of an adequate biography ended yet, though a full-length portrait of a subject, personally so attractive and so conspicuously concerned with high affairs and momentous issues, deserves and would reward the skill of a sympathetic and expert hand. The material for that portrait is rich and accessible. Apart from the copious sources in print for Windham's epoch and contemporaries, and the biographical data in the previously published speeches, letters and diary, there are the ninety-four volumes of manuscript acquired by the British Museum in 1900. It is difficult, however, to ascertain the purpose of the anonymous editor of the two volumes of 'Windham Papers' now given to the public. They are not a biography; nor are they, like the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, a complete Calendar of the British Museum collection with verbatim reproductions of the more important items. They are a selection; and, as with every selection, the value depends on the editor's knowledge, judgment and technical equipment. It is not easy to discover, still less to be satisfied with, the principles on which matter has been excluded or retained. The important and the unimportant are

jumbled together; nor are we informed how much has been omitted, at what points, or why. Material is included (e.g. letters from Burke or from and to Windham) which is available already in Burke's Correspondence, the Dropmore Papers and other printed sources, though the editor generally forgets to state the fact or to give the reference. Extracts from the Diary are inserted without any reference to the printed edition, so that the reader must ascertain for himself whether the extract is from a suppressed passage or is a faithful reproduction of the extant text. The prefaces, too, suggest many uncharitable doubts about both the editor's skill and knowledge. For example, the note on H. Flood (i, 37) is remarkable for its assertion that on July 16, 1783, Flood 'was in league with Grattan to secure the independence of the Irish Parliament.' On p. 26 and p. 31 the events between Rockingham's death and the formation of the Fox-North coalition are summed up in three or four misleading sentences. The editor claims for Windham that he was the first to suggest and was the chief agent in the removal of the Duke of York from the command in Flanders. But when Windham started on his important mission, Pitt, as Lord Ashbourne has shown, had already decided that the Duke must be removed and had already selected Lord Cornwallis as his successor. Windham's share was creditable to his courage and candour, but really he did little more than confirm on the spot the justifiability of the removal and facilitate the execution of a disagreeable decision. Nor can the two following notes be regarded as happy examples either of English, brevity or accuracy: 'Whitworth, the British minister at Paris, having presented an ultimatum, left on May 12, and the war that must inevitably follow the unpopular treaty was formally declared six days later' (ii, 209): 'General Sir John Moore, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in Spain, advanced from Lisbon to Coruña' (ii, 339).

More serious is the half-hearted, scrappy and dismembered presentation of Windham himself. A reader, starting with the laudable desire to master the career of a forgotten but prominent statesman, but unprovided with considerable special knowledge, together with leisure and energy to pursue elusive clues and fill in patent gaps, would speedily find himself mystified, and

would either abandon the task or wonder how on the disjointed evidence offered him Windham could be considered to have any importance at all. Certainly he could not learn from these two volumes the varying and baffling circumstances in which Windham was placed, the nature and complexity of the problems statesmanship, between 1780 and 1810, was called upon to solve, nor the character, merits or demerits of Windham's contribution to them. Take, for example, the difficult question of concerted British action with the Royalist insurgents from 1793 to 1801, or Windham's ideas and policy in the organisation of our military forces alike from 1793 to 1801, and again from 1805 to 1810. Both of these are unquestionably important but dark chapters in British history and in Windham's life. The story from Windham's point of view has never yet been adequately told, nor is it now told, nor is the full material for judgment set out. The editor indeed requires, though he does not warn the readers of the fact, that his book should be read in a first-rate library containing the other relevant sources and authorities. To understand the chief actor it is essential at every page to refer to the Speeches and Diary, to quarry in Burke's correspondence, to hunt in the index of and check the extracts from the Dropmore Papers, to be on familiar terms with every phase of the careers of Pitt, Dundas and Portland, Fox and Grenville, to have dog-eared the Parliamentary Debates, and always to have at one's elbow an armoury of notes on the works of Mr Lecky, Lord Stanhope, and the other great secondary sources, as well as a nice acquaintance with the critical and most recent researches of Dr Holland Rose and Mr Fortescue and half a dozen foreign scholars. For those, who have so equipped themselves and are not averse from the labour, some new and rewarding material, some fresh glimpses, some corroborative or corrective suggestions are provided in these pages, though not as many as they would like, if they remember the aforesaid ninety-four volumes in the British Museum. Those who dislike mystification and are in search of a plain tale, told with adequate skill and the knowledge that commands respect, had better content themselves with Lord Rosebery's charming introduction, and wait for a competent biographer.

The important features of Shelburne's and Windham's careers can be briefly summarised. Shelburne, the great-grandson of the notable Sir W. Petty, was born in 1737, a year before George III. After a short period at Christ Church, Oxford, he entered the army, served under Wolfe, to whose influence and personality he owed much, and acquitted himself with much distinction in the continental campaigns of the Seven Years War, subsequently, which is not often remembered, rising to the rank of major-general. He sat for a few months for Wycombe in the House of Commons until in 1761 he succeeded his father in the Irish earldom of Shelburne and the British barony of Wycombe. He was President of the Board of Trade in the Grenville ministry of 1763, but shortly resigned, and in 1766 was Secretary of State in Pitt's Ministry until 1768, when he was dismissed. Until 1782 when he took office in the Second Rockingham Ministry he was a prominent member of the Opposition, being generally regarded as belonging to the Chatham group. On Rockingham's death he became Prime Minister, with the younger Pitt as his Chancellor of the Exchequer, until the defeat in 1783 of the administration by the Coalition of North and Fox, under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland. He never again held ministerial office. His political position after 1784 is not easy to define; but until the outbreak of the French Revolution he acted as an independent supporter of Pitt's ministry. From 1793 onwards he joined hands with the opposition under Fox and was one of the tiny minority in the Upper House who condemned and resisted the home and foreign policy both of Pitt's and Addington's administrations. He died in 1805.

Windham, born in 1750, was thirteen years his junior, and came of a house of the landed gentry established at Felbrigg in Norfolk as far back as 1460. Educated at Eton (from which he had to be withdrawn), after a year at Glasgow University he spent three years at University College, Oxford, from which he graduated in 1771. Until 1784, when he entered the House of Commons, his time was spent on his estate at Felbrigg and in London, where he became a prominent member of Brooks and the famous Literary Club, and made the friendship of Johnson, Burke and other memorable persons. Until

1792 he spoke and acted with the Whig opposition to Pitt, and achieved such distinction that he was chosen one of the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings. The French Revolution, which drove Shelburne into opposition, drove Windham with the Portland Whigs on to Pitt's side; and in 1794 his acceptance of a seat in the Cabinet and the office of Secretary of War was part of the bargain which finally broke up the Whig party and brought the 'old Whigs' into concert with the Ministry of Pitt. He resigned with Pitt in 1801 on the Irish question, and the resignation marked a final rupture with Pitt and Pitt's party. Events brought him once more into sympathy with Fox, and in 1806 he became Secretary for War in the Cabinet of 'all the Talents,' resigning with his colleagues in 1807, again on the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Until his death in 1810 he was out of office. The confused condition of political parties in these years makes it difficult to define his position; but he refused to serve under Portland, and he was demonstrably opposed to the policy and creed alike of Perceval, Canning and Castlereagh.

This bald summary of salient facts serves to bring out two points common to the careers of both statesmen. Shelburne and Windham are remarkable for their apparent inconsistencies. Both served in office with men whom they subsequently strenuously opposed; both were more than once allies in opposition of parties which they subsequently left. Shelburne was in turn the friend, the critic, the rival and the follower of Henry Fox, of Bute, of Chatham, of Charles Fox and of the younger Pitt. Windham no less conspicuously attacked Pitt, served in his Cabinet, and ultimately opposed him; fought by the side of Fox, left his party, opposed his policy, rejoined him, served in his Cabinet and resigned with his party. Eighteenth century politicians did not attach an exaggerated value to the doubtful virtue of consistency, but the kaleidoscopic series of changes in the careers of Shelburne and Windham provoked their attention and baffled their cynicism. Permutations, so obviously against the interests of those who made them, furnished a mystifying problem. Was it due to the caprice of the political weathercock or the sinister but mistaken profundity of a Machiavelli? Or was it the astonishing

example of an honest and hopelessly impracticable 'independence,' the sublimated name for what plain men dubbed an obstinate and thrawn perversity? Or did Shelburne and Windham belong to that rare but always fascinating class of men, morbidly sensitive to a querulous conscience, who only begin to doubt the rectitude of their conduct and the sincerity of their convictions when their action is endorsed by popularity and supported by a majority?

The inference is justifiable that, if Shelburne and Windham are underrated, forgotten or 'suppressed characters in history'—to use Disraeli's famous description of the former in 'Sybil'—it was not from lack of opportunity to reveal their capacity for statesmanship, nor from poverty of ideas, ignorance, and failure to frame definite aims, strong and clear-cut convictions and an ordered system of policy. Both were born into the governing class, and from early manhood both were in the forefront of the narrow but dominant political world; both had an assured social position, ample means, genuine intellectual gifts and interests, influential friends, and cabinet rank in critical times which demanded and tested character and ability. Neither had the weary fight of Chatham against a hostile sovereign and a jealous and exclusive aristocratic oligarchy; both started and ended with much more in their favour than Mansfield, Burke, Wilberforce or Canning. In the reign of George III statesmen did not fail simply because they were rakes, as the example of Grafton proves, nor because they were gamblers and politically unpopular, as that of Charles Fox proves; nor did they succeed simply because they were the sons of a Prime Minister, as was shown in the case of the younger Pitt. Yet, judged by any adequate standard of achievement, Shelburne and Windham failed. They did not realise what their abilities and opportunities suggested they should have realised, and they were neither rakes, nor gamblers, nor adventurers. They disappointed their contemporaries; they disappointed themselves. The failure was a problem to their own age; it is a problem still.

Shelburne's personality, character, and ambition, the deeper the analysis is pushed, are found to be extraordinarily complex. No figure in our modern political

history suggests at first sight more definite and measurable qualities and acts, and on closer examination more puzzling inconsistencies and baffling questions. In the instructive fragment of an autobiography printed by Lord Fitzmaurice we have, as with Windham and his Diary, a skylight into his mind. Throughout a long career, he touched, at many of its best and most remunerative points, the life of an epoch singularly rich in its achievements and failures, in its contribution to thought and literature, richer still in the raw material of ideas and ideals and the maturing of mighty social and economic forces. If his early education was neglected and impoverishing, he made good the deficiencies by industry and insight. From early manhood he came into contact with the generals and staff-officers of the governing class—the Newcastles, the Graftons, the Rockinghams, the Grenvilles, the Rigbys and Calcrafts; he came, too, under the influence of the piercing genius of the red-haired, chinless and sickly Wolfe; he knew and cultivated the intellectuals, Adam Smith, Price, Priestley, Mirabeau; he fought with or against the great captains, Chatham, Burke, Fox, Pitt. He had seen war at Minden; the possession and management of Irish estates taught him to know Ireland; he had been Bute's 'young man' and Lord Holland's agent; he had at the Board of Trade and as Secretary of State dealt with the American problem at first hand; as Prime Minister he made the Treaty which ended the war in 1783. He was besides a master of penetrating irony, and an effective speaker in the House of Lords.

But in every respect he was singularly different from the typical aristocrat or country gentleman who filled the benches in the Lower House. He was not, like Newcastle or Dundas, a trained political organiser with a passion for managing men and controlling political machinery; nor a frequenter of the social and political clubs; nor, like Chesterfield, a leading figure in the salons of his day. The hall-marked forms of recreation or dissipation—hunting, shooting, prize-fighting, racing, gambling, drinking, mistresses—do not figure in the picture. It is as difficult to imagine Shelburne defying public opinion by occupying a box at the opera with Nancy Parsons, or declining to deal with a despatch because

the horses that were to take him to Newmarket could not be kept waiting in the street, as to imagine Chatham kissing saucy Mistress Kitty Fisher, or Wilberforce, full of claret, ordering straw to be laid down in St James' Street in order that he might hold the bank, undisturbed by the hackney coaches, while the guttering candles flung a weary challenge to the fragrance of a summer dawn. Shelburne bought pictures for Lansdowne House and Bowood; like everyone of importance who could afford it he was painted by Reynolds; he took a chilly interest in 'sepulchral monuments' and wrote a chilly paper on them, but it was not the interest of Isaac Disraeli, still less that of the Hydrotaphia. Art and letters were uneasy guests in the mansions of his mind. Garrick, Mrs Siddons, Perdita Robinson, Fanny Burney, Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, did not enter there; nor in his later days did Godwin, Paine, Cartwright, or Cobbett.

In his attitude towards his fellow men Shelburne reveals an independence positively inhuman in its egoism. To Windham, the man in Johnson and Burke (the two supreme masters whom he loved and was proud to serve) was greater and more satisfying than the scholar and the statesman. Shelburne, Bentham profoundly observes, 'had a sort of systematic plan for gaining people.' Men were interesting or necessary in his scheme of life in proportion as they could impart truth and power, or meet an intellectual demand or a political purpose. But he neither desired nor felt the need of friendship for its own sake with those to whom living was a finer achievement than even authorship of a Dictionary or the 'Reflections on the French Revolution.' Shelburne desired and sought the secrets of truth; he missed the secrets of life that alone can make truth an instrument of humanity.

His intellectual life and moral purpose centred in the problems of government, of commerce, and of economics. He was a patient student of political institutions; the autobiography reveals him as a penetrating if soured critic of the system and principles of the 18th century, an earnest reformer who would unfrock the Levites of the establishment, cut down the groves of the Whig priests, and grind to powder the Idols of the Tribe. Shelburne was an intellectual *pur sang* in a limited but

important sphere of the intellect who did not shirk but sought the dust and sweat of self-criticism and self-examination. And he unified the dry rays from every source in a proud, imperious, sceptically critical and jealous mind, grateful for the truth, but determined to acknowledge no personal obligation to the human being who had imparted it. Lord Fitzmaurice has vindicated both his knowledge and judgment of political affairs. Study his comments on, or his share in, such capital events as the rout of the old Whigs in 1763, the American problem from 1774 onwards, Indian questions, the Treaty of 1783 and financial and fiscal reform, or his considered judgments on the French Revolution and the War of 1793, and you will be struck with the knowledge, the capacity to penetrate below the surface, the freedom from the threadbare sophisms of both parties, and the acuteness of the criticism. And, if intellectual judgment were the sum of statesmanship and reliance on a dispassionate reason an infallible touchstone of leadership, Shelburne would be in the first class of 18th century statesmen.

To Shelburne the world should be and might be made the expression of a rational system, based on a correct interpretation of true material interests. The existing order and conventions seemed to him a tangled mesh of error, fraud, hypocrisy and self-seeking. He probed the intellectual and moral deficiencies of his contemporaries; he detected and exposed their pettinesses, jobberies, errors and vanities; no less clearly he appreciated with sardonic satisfaction the weak points in the King and his policy. Increasing experience only endorsed the diagnosis; his failure to apply his own remedies hardened his heart and soured his judgment. He was unlike the majority of his class; he was a rebel against their system. He knew it, and so did his world. The one quality he shared with the leaders and the rank and file was the clamant consciousness of disinterestedness and political virtue. The correspondence of his epoch indeed is drenched with high and unselfish principles and homage 'to the publick'. Shelburne and Windham are not exceptional but typical in their repeated protestations that whatever other politicians might do or be, their decisions are not influenced by personal considerations, but solely by what that laziest of patricians, the Duke of Portland, calls 'the

propriety of conduct,' 'our duty to the public' and 'the influence We derive from our characters.'

It would have been a hard but not impossible task for Shelburne to succeed, handicapped as he was by the settled conviction that the political system required remodelling from top to bottom and by a personality proud, jealous, cold and unsympathetic. Yet it is not only fair but requisite to remember that men, as various and gifted as Vergennes, Morellet, Dunning, Price and Bentham, admired his ability and were attracted by not a few qualities in his character. The contradiction between their tribute and the universal judgment of Shelburne's contemporaries in public life through forty years is sharp and at first sight mystifying. The evidence on this head is unique in its unanimity and its iteration of the same charge, and is summed up in the damning description of 'Malagrida' and 'The Jesuit of Berkeley Square.' The King, Bute, Henry Fox, Grafton, Charles Fox, Burke, Rockingham, both Chatham and the younger Pitt, Horace Walpole—to name a few—were agreed after experience, not merely that Shelburne was a disagreeable or perverse colleague, and that his manner was vastly too fine and elaborate, but that he was insincere, untrustworthy, an intriguer and unscrupulous. Each and all in turn had 'a damned ugly story to tell.' Lord Fitzmaurice does not quote the remarkable passage in the memoranda of W. Knox (Hist. MSS. Comm. Knox MS., p. 283, 4), who had worked at the Colonial Office under a dozen different chiefs, and who, after testifying to Shelburne's exasperating fussiness, ingratitude and subterranean methods, cites the view of the Office staff 'who abhorred him as a principal,' and echoes the exclamation of Sir Stanier Porter, 'God be thanked, I am not to be under you (Shelburne) again.' And Knox had in full measure the tolerance of the expert civil servant.

Shelburne himself might be put into the box. His autobiography is illuminating and repellent. The bloodless dissection of his master Chatham, with its extraordinary judgment that 'he was incapable of friendship or of any act which tended to it'; the naive insertion of a remark that he employed a private betrayal, sent to him underhand, to attack Mansfield in the House of Lords; the verdict on himself, 'I have never forgot a

kindness nor an injury, though I have forgiven many of the latter,' tell their own tale. In this man there was much light, of the most desiccating kind, much ambition, but of sweetness or of charity nothing. Shelburne's world was prepared to condone much; but Shelburne it refused after experience to condone. And what made the decree absolute was the insolent and provocative assumption of unvarnished honesty and superior virtue. They saw in him a mixture of Joseph Surface and Machiavelli, all the more dangerous because of his abilities. And if there were those who said the judgment was harsh, twelve months in a Cabinet with Shelburne, as Pitt discovered, more than sufficed. From the King downwards one and all pronounced:—'with this man we cannot and we will not work.' In private life he was tolerable, even patronisingly generous; in public business he was impossible. Nothing but such defects could have marred such talents; not even such talents could obliterate such defects.

There were, too, deeper reasons at work which a comparative analysis of Windham's character and career serves to bring into clear relief. Lord Rosebery claims for Windham the proud title of 'the finest English gentleman of his or perhaps of all time,' a claim easy to make, difficult to substantiate and still more difficult to refute. The drawing up of class lists of gentility and the awarding of crowns on tests hidden in the examiner's breast is a fascinating but not a very profitable and convincing pastime. Whether Philip Sidney, Falkland, John Evelyn, Colonel Hutchinson or the first Marquis of Halifax would, for example, have written the letter to George Cholmondeley about Cecilia Forrest (i, 75), or the letters to James Wyatt the architect, or have made the 'offensive' speech and written the letter about Pitt (ii, 282); how much account we ought to take of the irritable, almost peevish, criticism with its jarring note of egoism which the correspondence reveals; whether we find in Windham any large-souled generosity, delicacy and sympathy of insight into the motives, difficulties and social standards of those born in classes of life other than his own, are matters open to dispute and impossible to settle decisively. It is not necessary to subscribe to Lord Rosebery's sweeping verdict in order readily to admit that

Windham was endowed with an irresistible grace and charm. The spontaneous chorus of praise is as unequivocal and universal as is the chorus of condemnation of Shelburne. When the fastidious and delightful Sarah, Lady Lyttelton writes, 'his conversation I could live on for any length of time; it is quite perfection,' she was unconsciously repeating what judges of the quality of Johnson, Garrick, and Burke have left on record. And when she adds in regard to his final illness, 'I never knew a man so felt for as he is,' she sums up the testimony of a critical generation. Windham impressed Dr Johnson as easily as, at a single sitting, he captured the heart of a young 'society' beauty. Few, if any, of the King's ministers drew from George III the unsolicited tribute that Windham received on his resignation in 1801. And the experienced King was one who seldom separated his political and personal predilections. Pitt and Dundas without qualification, Lord Grenville to a less degree, alone seem to stir in Windham intense, if suppressed, personal aversion. It is intelligible that Dundas' character and methods were repugnant to Windham; that Pitt never understood nor took the trouble to understand this typical representative of the Whig landed class. But on the evidence available it is difficult to understand why beneath Windham's references to Pitt there flows an almost savage and growing undercurrent of bitter antipathy—a sense of personal injury and political turpitude and weakness. Was it that Windham felt, justly or unjustly, that the seven years in Pitt's Cabinet had wrecked his career, that Pitt and 'the Triumvirate' were responsible, and that Pitt had ruined 'the great cause' of Burke?

If ever a man reflected the virtues and defects of his class, Windham was that man. As a social and political figure he was as intelligible and acceptable to the governing world as Shelburne was the reverse. In the House of Commons, the salons and the political clubs, in the social life of the county, at Quarter or Petty Sessions, at the covert side, Windham took the place into which he was born as the master of Felbrigg, and he filled it with the distinction, *bel air* and unquestioned assurance of a *grand seigneur*, whose mind, naturally refined and intellectual, had been trained in the best culture of his world. In the Whig county of 'Coke of Norfolk' no one had a better

right to represent progress and liberty as embalmed in the sacred principles of 1688, and vested in the immortal trusteeship of the nobles and country gentlemen. His courage and morals were beyond criticism; his aversion from Puritanism in all its forms, his pride in England and her constitution, his defence of bull-baiting and prize-fighting as institutions which, with Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights, had made England the envy of the civilised world and Englishmen what they were, appealed as strongly to Cobbett as it did to the back benches of St Stephen's, the tap-room of the village inn, the mob of the slums, and the drawing-room of the manor. If his interest in art, drama and literature was genuine but curiously limited (witness his judgments on Goldsmith and *Evelina*), that rather pleased than fretted the countless Gallios and Philistines of both political parties. Suspicion or dislike of his intellectual ability or his Bohemian friendships in the Green Room were disarmed by his intimacy with the Duchess of Devonshire or Mrs Crewe, better still by his undeniable capacity to ride and shoot straight, and to curse a Jacobin, British or foreign, as heartily as an ermined Scottish Judge or the tipsiest mercenary of the Crown and Anchor Society.

Yet it is tolerably certain that his contemporaries and friends had not discovered the real Windham; and it is fascinating to speculate whether Malone or Burke or Mrs Crewe, whether even Cecilia Forrest, who became Mrs Windham, ever unlocked the inner chambers of his mind, or detected, behind his social charm and public performance, the morbid and chronic depressions, the torturing and perennial self-catechising, the religious hypochondria, the indolence, lack of ambition and diffidence in his powers, the moral neurasthenia and prudery, the bondage to intellects and wills stronger than his own, so strangely linked to a fretful bravado of independence. Lord Rosebery regrets that the *Diary* was ever published. It certainly is not good reading in any sense. But the *Diary* is as essential as Laud's 'incomparable' record; and this depressing and prolix confessional completes the evidence; for without it we should have remained in the dark and have been driven into false conclusions from imperfect premisses.

Nothing is easier than to smile cynically at or indict

with measured proof Windham's chequered and inconsistent public record. Shelburne's journeys from one camp to the other, his halting attempts to be the centre of a centre party which would crush Whigs and Tories and capture a willing Crown, exasperated everybody and made him a repellent Ishmael. But the changes in Windham's political allegiance only caused men to shrug their shoulders, or to thank God there were some shreds of independence left in British statesmen. Neither the fanatics nor the Tapers and Tadpoles wanted Shelburne. Windham could have a seat in any Cabinet that he chose; and if he accepted and then walked over to the other side of the House, the friends he left were genuinely sad, the friends he joined held out a hand of sincere welcome. He was trusted because he was loved; and he was loved because he was trusted.

He entered public life known to be a brilliant young man; he joined, as he was expected to join, the Whig opposition, and he said and did what orthodox Whigs said and did. When the French Revolution broke, all the latent fears of democracy, of 'reform' as the subversion of the political and social supremacy of the governing class, all the terror of the French ascendancy which was a racial instinct in Whiggism, all the suppressed class passion and pride combined to hurl him, after two years of stupefied observation and accumulating horror, as they hurled the elders of the Congregation—Portland, Spencer, Fitzwilliam, Malmesbury, Horace Walpole, Burke—on to the ministerial side. Reform in the hurricane season was sheer lunacy. With 'French principles' there must be war *à outrance* until Jacobinism had been rooted out of men's hearts and the government of France had been restored to the Crown, the aristocracy and the Church.

He became Secretary at War in Pitt's cabinet, to occupy, he announced, 'a chapel of ease' to Mr Dundas, to be 'a sort of foreign minister for the Chouans,' and Burke's representative of 'the cause.' He did not approve of Pitt, but held, with the other Portland Whigs, that it was necessary to strengthen weak Tory hands, and 'a duty to the publick,' to give the ministry 'the support and influence We owe to our characters.' The next eight years were a bitter disillusionment, personal and political,

Windham occupied not 'a chapel of ease' but a pillory of humiliation. Apart from the collapse of Fitzwilliam's viceroyalty, the Irish rebellion and the break-up of the Cabinet over Roman Catholic Emancipation, the correspondence, particularly that preserved in the Dropmore Papers, is a tragic commentary on the roseate optimism of 1793 which dissolved gradually into the surrender at the Peace of Amiens to the First Consul as the triumphant heir of Jacobinism. Windham had little influence on policy; he was in continual dissent from the autocracy and plans of the Triumvirate; little was done for the Royalists who proved singularly perverse and disunited, and that little proved a series of costly fiascos. We can follow with something of Windham's despair the divided counsels of the Cabinet, the confused and antagonistic schemes of strategy, the administrative inefficiency, the broken semblance of military legislation and army reform, the squandering of inadequate resources on conflicting objects, the heart-breaking revelation of the selfishness and moral dry-rot in our allies. Much of Windham's copious and candid criticism of his colleagues, of Dundas in particular, was uncomfortably true. Burke and Windham had prayed for a crusade. Pitt, Grenville and the monarchs gave them two Coalitions, two Partitions of Poland and a 'dishonourable Peace.' But even if Windham was not solely responsible for the failure to organise a royalist counter-revolution, he confessed his lack of success in his self-appointed task. 'The business,' he admitted, 'has not prospered in my hands.' And his subsequent record in the ministry of 1806 confirms the conclusion that with *carte blanche* in 1794 he would not have made a better War Minister than Pitt, Grenville and Dundas. 'In knowledge of men and yet more in the management of them,' wrote Lord Holland, 'he was woefully inferior.' And if as an army reformer he could claim that he had extirpated the vice of Pitt's volunteer system and upheld sound principles, his practice and administrative execution fell lamentably short of his theory.

Nor did his reconversion to Fox and the Whig opposition bring even a bleak comfort and credit. He did not live long enough to see a Germany recast in the fires of the Revolution that he hated, nor the sun rising on British

bayonets as they crossed the Ebro and the Bidassoa. His last utterances were a criticism of a prize fight, a refusal to take office save with a free hand to introduce the exploded system of 1806, and a declaration that the ruin, now imminent, could only be averted by a fresh onslaught on reformers and on the 'pestilent doctrine which would reproach the Spaniards for not having corrected what are called abuses,' and by a drastic retrenchment of the liberty of the press and freedom of speech. Great Britain apparently had saved herself by her abuses; it only remained for her to save Europe by her example.

Yet there are flashes in the letters which reveal the sudden and arresting vision of eyes for once made clear, the poignant recognition that perhaps, after all, the whole 'system' was wrong, that we, not the French, were blind and mad. The cry of pain that our judges made more Jacobinism than they prevented, the terrible admission that the country gentleman, the backbone of England, had failed in moral stamina and brain power, and that birth was no longer irrefutable proof of character and political worth, the assertion that England could not succeed or endure without a moral revolution which perhaps only a political revolution from within could effect—these and similar passages witness to a moral and intellectual agony. Why, Windham asked more than once, had France, which had wrecked her historic institutions, torn up the title-deeds of her national life, and poisoned all the wells and sanctuaries of spiritual strength, why had this abominable France, with the lie in her soul, been able to dictate terms to Great Britain. And he found no answer in the philosophy of Burke or Braxfield or Eldon. Even when the May days at Madrid came with Corunna and Talavera in their train, Walcheren and Wagram burnt in the conclusion that Spain would only prove another La Vendée.

Both Shelburne and Windham prided themselves on their 'independence,' but the claim implied a striking contrast alike of aims and methods in politics. While Shelburne, starting from the reasoned conviction that the scheme of government and conventions of political life established under the Hanoverian dynasty were wrong or mischievous, desired not merely to destroy the existing parties but party government and to substitute a system

on a different basis, Windham broadly accepted the existing machinery and parties as an essential feature, and merely claimed an arbitrary freedom of choice as to the organised combination with which he would temporarily work. Shelburne was powerfully influenced by Chatham; Windham was no less powerfully influenced by Burke. Shelburne called himself a 'Reformer' and desired 'reforms' not because he desired to redistribute the constituencies or admit to the franchise large classes excluded under the existing electoral law, or to introduce a right to a vote based on a title other than that of landed property, but because he wished to destroy the sources of political power on which parties were or could be based. He was not an organic reformer, but he would have carried much further the economic reforms inaugurated by Burke, in order to extirpate the 'illegitimate' control of the Crown, the Tories and the Whigs, and of the Whigs above all. His avowed aim was to free the Crown from the fetters of any organised political combination and to free the Parliament from the organised grip of the Crown—to make parties which would 'storm the closet' or manipulate the Lower Chamber impossible, and to set an emancipated Crown in Council and Executive against an emancipated Legislature, strictly confined to its financial supremacy and its co-ordinate share in legislation. Windham, on the other hand, had all the orthodox Whig fear of the power of the Crown and desire to reduce it to defined limits; he saw in the Cabinet, as Burke saw, the committee of the party with a majority in the Commons deliberately organised to secure public ends of policy, and cemented by collective responsibility. Economic reform which would extirpate the corrupt influence of the Crown and prevent it from establishing a departmental system, but which would leave the Whigs the masters of patronage and the constituencies, was admirable and salutary; but he opposed organic reform because it would involve the admission to power of classes with neither interest in, nor capacity for, political government, and must inevitably destroy the existing social order and the supremacy of the governing class and transfer political power to a democratic mob. Reform that was confined to repairs of the existing machinery was debatable on its merits;

reform that reopened the ends of government and society was revolution, and involved social and political ruin.

Windham's position is clear and defensible if the premisses are admitted to be true. But when we pass from Shelburne's criticism to his constructive proposals, we are confronted with a dilemma for which no workable solution is provided. It was easy to assert that the parties of 1763 or 1783 must be destroyed, but how a House of Commons financially supreme was to be prevented from asserting its supremacy over policy and the executive, how ministerial responsibility was to be secured if the executive was to be independent of an independent legislature, how the Crown was to be an 'efficient' power in the Cabinet without doing away with a 'real first minister,' how the Crown or that minister was to select the executive chiefs (for *ex hypothesi* there were to be no parties or organised groups), and how the members of this executive committee were to secure the confidence of the Crown or of each other without forfeiting the confidence of a Parliament endowed with supreme financial control, Shelburne never satisfactorily explained. The Crown on Shelburne's hypothesis was always to have a *liberum veto* on the men and sometimes on the measures; Parliament was always to have a *liberum veto* on the measures and sometimes on the men, but what would happen when the two vetoes collided Shelbourne neither asked nor answered. And his own practical attempt to solve it in 1783 destroyed his cabinet and himself.

Shelburne and Windham lived through an epoch when the Agricultural Revolution with the Enclosures, the Industrial Revolution with its fundamental reconstruction of the economic life of the nation, the American and French Revolutions that brought into the forefront of political discussion the ends of government and the values of the inherited organisation of society, were sapping all the bases of the inheritance, and destroying the belief in its meaning and worth. We search in vain for a recognition by either of the character and inevitable tendency of the profound and irreversible results of the first thirty years of George III's reign, for the judgment that it was the duty of patriotic statesmanship to understand the intrinsic and infinitely renewable capacity

of a living society and polity for readjustment and to provide the new machinery for the transition to new order with a minimum of friction. Shelburne met the new world, the new facts and the new claims with a programme of new ideas to be realised by machinery revived from the scrap heaps of the 17th century; Windham with a programme of the old ideas and the old machinery concealed under a new coat of old paint. Shelburne forgot that in the politics of a self-governing nation pure reason is like bayonets. The statesman can alter everything with its help except human nature. Misinterpretation of human nature invariably involves misinterpretation by human nature. The confidence and co-operation of his fellow men were as indispensable for the success of Shelburne's measures as accurate diagnosis of the facts; and Shelburne's principles dispensed with confidence and regarded co-operation as the shibboleth of faction. Hence distrust of the statesman came to be held as a good reason for rejecting his principles; rejection of his principles was the justification for distrusting the man. The independence, which is a synonym for isolation, ends in impotence. Windham imprisoned his mind in the Whig Koran; for all his boasted independence he could only conceive of an England, in which the inherited supremacy of the class to which he belonged was not secured, as the negation of God, sanity and social stability. Of true intellectual and political independence, of an honest endeavour to see the life surging round the charmed enclosure of a narrow political monopoly steadily and as a whole, of power to breathe and draw a new strength from the sunlight and air outside the stately temple of Whiggism, there is no trace.

In our political history Shelburne is not typical but unique. He will be remembered as a statesman of intellectual power but of a narrow vision, and of a character that inspired invincible aversion. He failed to carry out his reforms and to maintain himself in office, because his interpretation of the problems was defective, because he had no party and refused to make one, because his record illustrated the futility of both the threadbare panaceas 'measures and not men,' 'men and not measures' so copiously appealed to in his day. It was a failure of character, constructive power, and insight. He bequeathed

no memory, no tradition, no message, no programme, no ideal; and the historian is obliged to reconstruct the failure in order to explain the significance of the man.

Windham, whose charm was irresistible to his age, can never awaken the interest fostered by Shelburne's enigmatic and provocative career. Oratorical excellence and social gifts unsupported by solid achievement will not stir either the gratitude or the curiosity of posterity. He did not found a school because the school had been founded a century earlier, and outside its class-rooms he never walked. The critical and fruitful years of his life were spent in the futile task of trying to prevent the winds of the Time-spirit from blowing down ramparts and battlements whose foundations were already sapped and subsiding. He had no message of faith for his own generation; and the next, taught by Canning, Peel and Huskisson, by Grey, Russell, Brougham and Bentham, saw in his warning to flee the wrath to come only the final proof of a worn-out creed and a perished social order. After Pitt the quenched torch of the master's constructive Toryism could be relit by his disciples; the mantle of Fox fell on the younger sons of the Whig prophets who remembered to whom they owed their conviction of a national mission. But to Windham the England of the Regency and the Reform Bill owed no homage. The public figure who has made no permanent contribution to a nation's policy, laws and institutions, who has not enriched its thought with new ideas, nor even with the dreams that pass out of the gates of horn to blend with the rose and amber of a dawn that night is powerless to stay, the man whose life is summed up in unquestioning satisfaction with the present or unrepentant regret for the past, pays an inexorable penalty. And Windham has paid it.

C. GRANT ROBERTSON.

Art. 5.—THE VAGARIES OF RECENT POLITICAL ECONOMY.

1. *The Principles of Political Economy*. By Henry Sidgwick. London : Macmillan, 1883.
2. *Cours d'Économie Politique*. Par Vilfredo Pareto. Lausanne, 1906.
3. *Cours d'Économie Politique*. Par C. Colson. Six vols. Paris : Gunthier Villars, 1907.
4. *The Common Sense of Political Economy*. By Philip H. Wicksteed. London : Macmillan, 1910.
5. *Wealth and Welfare*. By A. C. Pigou. London : Macmillan, 1912.
6. *Principles of Economics*. By Dr N. G. Pierson. Translated by A. A. Wotzel. Vol. II. London : Macmillan, 1912.

THE literature of Political Economy is enormous and is growing fast. The increase in quantity is evidenced by the growing lists of new books noticed in the Journals of the Royal Statistical Society and the Royal Economic Society ; and there are similar journals with similar lists in all the principal countries from Japan to the United States. The quantitative progress of Political Economy is also shown by the increasing importance attached to the subject in the Universities, the old as well as the new. We still speak of Political Economy as a subject, but the name covers many subjects, and the economic department in any large university includes many instructors and attracts many students. In the University of Harvard, for example, there are no less than thirty-one courses in Economics, given by a staff of eight professors and an appropriate number of lecturers and assistants, and the 'Quarterly Journal of Economics' published by Harvard University is in the first rank of similar publications. The amount of Political Economy made in Germany is even more varied and voluminous, and the latest German Quarterly Journal of Economics (*Weltwirtschaftsliches Archiv*), the first number of which appeared last January, parades a list of over three hundred contributors, including many well-known names. And even these references do not give an adequate indication of the economic output in words spoken and written, for in every country, and notably in the United Kingdom, official commissions

of all kinds have examined numberless witnesses and issued lengthy reports of the evidence and the results. There are also the continued and recurrent returns of the Board of Trade (e.g. the Census of Production) and similar governmental departments, and year by year new masses of statistics and realistic descriptions are poured from official presses. Such and so great being the quantity of economic literature, it is natural to enquire if there has been a corresponding advance in the quality, or, to put a less exacting question, if there has been any real advancement of economic learning.

In certain parts of the field there will be general agreement that the harvest has not only been plenteous but of excellent quality. This is especially the case where the husbandmen have applied the historical and comparative methods in their researches. The late Frederic Seebohm's 'English Village Community' was literally a path-breaker; and, even if other minds take other views of the origins of the manor, his discovery of the meaning of the virgate or yard-land threw a new light on the medieval history of England. In economic history generally the progress has certainly been more than satisfactory. Similarly in the development and in the application of statistical methods there has been unquestionable progress; and if in realistic economics we sometimes cannot see the wood for the trees, a good many of the trees are very good after their kind. Metaphor apart, in nearly every section of economics there has been since the early seventies some solid work of outstanding importance: in currency, banking, labour, unemployment and pauperism, and so on through all the principal chapters of practical economics there have been notable additions and revisions.

But when we look to Political Economy considered as the fundamental science which should co-ordinate all these particular developments, the answer to the question about advancement is by no means so clear. It will readily be admitted that some critical or supplementary notes, or chapters of real value, suggested by later developments both theoretical and historical might be appended to nearly every chapter of the 'Wealth of Nations.' Take, for example, Adam Smith's well-known opinions on the limitations of the usefulness of joint-stock enterprise.

Not only has this form of business more and more displaced other forms with increasing success, but, as is shown by the laborious and illuminating researches of Dr W. R. Scott into the 'Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-stock Companies to 1720' (a work which deserves to rank with those of Madox and Eden), Adam Smith's historical judgment on joint-stock companies requires serious modification.

Whatever the emendations in substance or in detail, it is certain that no subsequent economist has succeeded in writing for his day and generation a work of similar range and similar power of co-ordination of principles. In the preface to his own work Mill (1848) said that 'the "Wealth of Nations" is in many parts obsolete and in all imperfect,' and that 'a work similar in its object and general conception to that of Adam Smith but adapted to the more extended knowledge and improved ideas of the present age, is the kind of contribution which Political Economy at present requires.' But Mill himself, instead of bringing down Adam Smith to the middle of the 19th century, endeavoured to popularise the abstractions of Ricardo, and he may be said to have headed the revolt against his own doctrines in his later treatment of labour questions and socialism. In less than a generation after the appearance of Mill's 'Principles' his work was violently attacked by Cliffe Leslie for its failure to appreciate the historical method, and by Jevons for its failure in abstract analysis. And, curiously enough, both of Mill's critics raised the cry: Back to Adam Smith. The change in attitude towards the authority of Mill found expression in the 'Principles of Political Economy' by Henry Sidgwick; and probably Mr A. J. Balfour's reference to the 'thin lucidity' of Mill was evoked by the opposite character of Sidgwick's work. But the work of Sidgwick, though much admired by the expert, failed to make any popular impression, partly from his over-elaboration of abstract argument and partly from his under-valuation of history. It is now thirty years since it was published; and a new generation has arisen that knows little of Sidgwick and still less of the doctrines that called forth his criticism. What Mill said of Adam Smith would be said now with more emphasis and greater justice of Mill's own work—in many parts obsolete and in most imper-

fect,' and again the cry is raised : Back to Adam Smith, an Adam Smith, it is true, adapted—again to quote Mill—'to the more extended knowledge and improved ideas of the present age.'

Unfortunately, however, in this country such a *rifacimento* of Adam Smith is under present conditions much more difficult than in the middle of the 19th century, even supposing a writer were found with Adam Smith's rare combination of excellence in history, literature, science and philosophy. The task is for the present rendered practically impossible by the domination of certain economic ideas and methods which do not lend themselves to popular representation. Perhaps they may be none the worse but all the better from the point of view of pure science, but, when they are applied to 'political economy considered as a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator' (Adam Smith), or to the 'art of political economy' (Sidgwick), they fall for the most part into the wide realm of inappropriate conceptions. Between this pure science and the application to practice there seems to be a deep gulf fixed.

These sombre misgivings seem amply justified by the recent English economic literature of a general character, which is dominated by the mathematical method. Even the mention of the word 'mathematical' makes the average legislator close the book of wisdom altogether; and the attempts to dress up the mathematical ideas in literary garb have hitherto not conquered this repulsion of the natural man to the skeleton within. Perhaps, however, the natural man may be willing to hear how political economy, which used to be regarded, like the affairs of the nation according to Squire Western, as one of the subjects we can all understand, came to be dominated by mathematical ideas, which on the ordinary man have the blinding effect of an excess of light. In this country the beginning of the change is generally associated with the name of Jevons. It is true that even in the 17th century there were ingenious writers on political arithmetic, e.g. Sir William Petty. In the 18th Cantillon applied mathematical ideas of a higher order, and there were other anticipators of Jevons, notably Dr Chalmers (1832); but in general treatises on economics the proportion of mathematics employed was never beyond

the range of the plain man. Jevons was a brilliant writer on logic and scientific methods and on practical social reforms, and in attempting to apply mathematical ideas he worked out the conceptions from the beginnings; in fact he tried to make the plain man understand the foundations of 'higher' mathematics, so that he might understand the 'common sense of political economy.' Jevons wrote as one who had himself gone through this process, and not as one of the mathematical scribes who take everything for granted. But it is very doubtful if any plain man ever read through Jevons's 'Pure Theory.' When Jevons wrote, 'to me it seems that our science must be mathematical,' the plain man recoiled.

But the real founder of the modern mathematical method is not Jevons, but Cournot, who published in 1838 a small book, '*Recherches sur les principes mathématiques de la théorie des richesses*.'* Cournot was not only a mathematician of the first rank, but a philosopher with a profound appreciation of the fundamental ideas of the inductive sciences and their development, and with a similar command of history. Cournot's mathematical work on economics was absolutely neglected, and he made two attempts (1863, 1876) to translate his mathematical ideas into the language of the people. The last of these settings, written when he was over seventy-five years old, is one of the best examples of French clearness and attractiveness of presentation. The preface reveals in a remarkable and even pathetic manner his faith in the truth of his original work in spite of neglect and misunderstanding; and, read at the present time, it affords one of the most striking instances of time's revenges. Now every writer on the general theory of economics is more or less under the sway of the mathematical bias, and every treatise is ornamented with curves and algebraic symbols. And, so great is the vogue, that references are made to the 'usual' curve, and explanations are offered of economic problems in technical terms the meaning of which is taken for granted, as if they were already part of the King's English.

This extended adoption of mathematical ideas and

* Translated into English, 1897, with a bibliography of mathematical economics by Irving Fisher.

terminology intermingled with the ideas and language current in ordinary journalism is liable to grave abuses. Readers who do not understand the mathematics and the technical terms are apt to look only at the conclusions of the argument and to suppose that, being the result of mathematics which they do not understand, they must be particularly cogent. And this natural tendency to take the mathematics on trust is encouraged by the common practice of indicating in the preface to any work of the kind that such and such chapters may be omitted on first reading or (it may be) altogether. In this way the authority associated with mathematical proofs comes to be extended altogether beyond the limits which have been recognised by the original and really great writers on the subject. Take, for example, the concluding sentences of Cournot's preface :

'I believe there is an immense step in passing from theory to governmental applications . . . and I believe if this essay is of any practical value it will chiefly be in making clear how far we are from being able to solve with full knowledge of the case a multitude of questions which are boldly decided every day.'

The writer who has done most to bring some of Cournot's ideas within the range of the ordinary English student of economics, namely Dr Marshall, has also stated with the greatest clearness and precision the limitations of the mathematical method.

'Many important considerations' (he writes) 'do not lend themselves easily to mathematical expression; they must either be omitted altogether or clipped and pruned till they resemble the conventional birds and animals of decorative art. And hence arises a tendency towards assigning wrong proportions to economic forces, those elements being most emphasised which lend themselves most easily to analytical methods.'

Again, Prof. Edgeworth, nearly a quarter of a century ago, in his address to the British Association on the application of mathematics to political economy, said :

'The parsimony of symbols, which is often an elegance in the physicist, is a necessity for the economist. Indeed, it is tenable that our mathematical construction should be treated as a sort of scaffolding, to be removed when the edifice of science is completed.'

And in his own elaborate deductions Prof. Edgeworth has always recognised the limitations of his method.

The same position was taken up by Sir Llewellyn Smith on a similar occasion in 1910:

'I trust that those who recognise with me the value of mathematical modes of expression will be extremely careful to restrict mathematical language to the pages of technical economic journals or the footnotes and appendices of more popular treatises, and to restate all the conclusions arrived at by this means, with at least an outline of the arguments which lead to them, in ordinary language free from technical symbols.'

And again:

'On all grounds it would be deplorable if through the obscurity of its language economic science should relapse into the position of an esoteric doctrine confined to a small circle of initiates, only the bare results of which are capable of dogmatic statement to the outside world.'

Two recent works on political economy illustrate very forcibly the danger indicated in this last reflection of Sir Llewellyn Smith. The first, strangely enough, is entitled the 'Common Sense of Political Economy,' and the title suggests an appeal in ordinary language to the common thought of mankind. At the outset Mr Wicksteed explains that his object is to start with the reader from the very beginning, and to place a clue in his hands which will lead him directly and inevitably from the facts and observations of his own daily experience to an intimate comprehension of the machinery of the commercial and industrial world. There is unfortunately no analytical table of contents and no index, and the book extends to over 700 pages. We are told, moreover, in the introduction that any special or unusual features in the system thus constructed are not to be regarded as daring innovations or as heresies, but are already involved in the best economic thought and teaching of recent years. The question naturally arises: Why should the common sense of political economy confirmed by the best economic thought require such an inordinate amount of words for setting it forth? Why so much sack for so little bread? The answer seems to be two-fold. In the first place, the common sense has to be expressed in an unfamiliar terminology, and Mr Wicksteed prepares the

way by all the blandishments of literary culture and an array of practical examples, some of which must surely hit the mark even in the dulllest intelligence.

Some years ago Mr Wicksteed published a little book called the 'Alphabet of Economic Science' which was very short, very mathematical, and of its kind extremely good. He is now apparently determined to take no risks through abbreviation or want of illustration; but the very abundance of the concrete examples obscures the principles they are intended to enforce. Another reason for this extraordinary expansiveness is to be found in Mr Wicksteed's divergence from economic doctrines still usually accepted. They may not be the best, but they are certainly the most common. In his reconstruction the author not only sets aside what used to be called the 'orthodox' political economy, as shown especially in Mill, but also severely criticises some economic laws which are taken for granted even in the still more recent work of Prof. Pigou. In his strictures on accepted doctrines Mr Wicksteed—apparently from an excess of good nature—avoids mentioning the names of the writers whom he is attacking; and, of course, any one of them may think he is not the man nor his the system that is the subject of depreciation. As a consequence the work loses in freshness and even in clearness. What would Mr Wicksteed think of a translation or perversion of Dante with all the proper names left out and all the sins and virtues made into abstractions? The economists would have been none the worse for being damned in their own names, and the outcries would have been interesting.

In every science and in every department of human knowledge which has not yet attained the dignity of being called science, progress may be made by one of two methods which at first sight seem fundamentally opposed, but are really in substance complementary. The one method is the method of absorption, the other that of expulsion. In the first method (that of Henry Sidgwick) the aim of the investigator is to make as much use as possible of all the old learning, and, if additions are made, to try to make them conformable to the old system. In this way, by successive remodellings, the letter of the law may be retained long after the substance has been put into the limbo of legal fictions. The advantage of

this method is that the best possible use is made of the mental capital of the race; and life is not long enough for every investigator to begin his science *de novo*. The worker on this plan hides his own heterodoxy, which, after all, is generally small, under a semblance of orthodoxy. The Book of Isaiah still remains the Book of Isaiah though it be shown to be due to several writers of different periods and different styles. In the same way the Ricardian law of rent and the Malthusian law of diminishing return to land (with geometrical increase of population) and similar expressions, which have been made to cover a great variety of opinions, are still retained in use as if intelligible to every educated person. And even supposing that all these so-called laws of political economy are to be considered only as working hypotheses, are they not logically on the same footing as other laws of other sciences, e.g. the biological? The disadvantage of this method of absorption is that the science tends to run into grooves, and blind deference to authority takes the place of the open mind and the open eye. And the greatest of all obstacles to progress is the undiscerning appeal to authority.

The other method seeks to expel from the science accepted theories and terminology, to minimise the value of what is retained, and to exaggerate the originality of new contributions. The advantage of this method is that useless accretions are got rid of and the original truths gain freshness from the new language, while, if there is any real originality in the additions, it is not likely to be passed over for want of advertisement. In the course of progress in all sciences a time must come when the old hypothesis must be expelled as effete and, as in the superstitions described by Dr Frazer, its kingdom given to its slayer. But, on the other hand, the method of expulsion may reject the true with the false, and the straining for originality may only burden the science with a new set of technical terms and a new set of inappropriate conceptions.

Mr Wicksteed complains that the best economic thought has suffered from the method of absorption.

'Adhesion to the traditional terminology, methods of arrangement, and classification, has disguised the revolution that has taken place. The new temple, so to speak, has been built up

behind the old walls, and the old shell has been so piously preserved and respected that the very builders have often supposed themselves to be merely repairing and strengthening the ancient works, and are hardly aware of the extent to which they have raised an independent edifice.'

Accordingly he writes to show that the time has come for a frank recognition of these facts. Hence these 700 pages of excellent English, interspersed with arithmetical tables and diagrams (also excellent in their way) and relieved with apposite references to the world of letters and to the world of business. But, after all, 'the proof of the pudding's the preein' o't'; and when we taste the results of this new learning and judge of it by its applications, the originality falls far short of being revolutionary. How much is really new in the chapter on banking, bills and currency? How much that a reader even of Mill, not to say Bagehot, would find both new and true? Similarly in Book III, in which the reader is invited in the language of Lucretius (admirably translated) to follow the faint spoor of the abstract theory into practical policy, how much new truth is he likely to drag out from its secret lurking-places? In the language of common prose, is this attempt to make the plain man or the legislator think in literary mathematics likely to be successful? How much is there in the new ideas and the new methods which had not been fully absorbed by Sidgwick in his Book III, entitled 'The Art of Political Economy'?

Prof. Pigou has carried to an extreme the method of expulsion and the straining after originality in ideas, in language, in diagrams and literary algebra. Yet, like Mr Wicksteed, he tries to cater for the popular taste by concrete illustrations drawn from the latest governmental reports, and the less exact disquisitions of latter-day social reformers. The nature of the book is indicated by the irrelevancy of the title, namely, 'Wealth and Welfare,' for, curiously enough, the word 'wealth' is apparently not mentioned except in the title, and the word 'welfare' is contracted into the species that can be measured in terms of money and fitted into curves and formulæ. But, unlike Mr Wicksteed, Prof. Pigou gives no explanation of the mathematics used, and his readers are referred to a paper in the

'Economic Journal' for any further enlightenment they may require on the obscure mathematical diagrams employed. The great advantage claimed for the mathematical method in economics is that one may see at a glance the relations and the limitations of ideas, which can only be expressed in ordinary literary English with a plentiful use of hypotheses and qualifying clauses. But, unless the mathematics are absolutely clear, the method not only fails in its purpose but is likely to lead even the author into error. If we look to the practical applications of the mathematics in 'Wealth and Welfare,' so as to try to find out the meanings of the curves from the uses made of them, some of the results are so paradoxical that it is difficult to discover the hypotheses with which they must be safeguarded. And it is not only in the parts that are professedly mathematical, and which the ordinary reader is advised to omit, that this obscurity prevails. Throughout the book technical terms are employed as if they needed no definition, though the interpretation varies from writer to writer, and, as Mr Wicksteed shows, the usage is often inconsistent. The difficulty of reading is increased by the studied avoidance of ordinary modes of expression. Prof. Pigou substitutes for the word 'capital' such terms as 'waiting' and 'uncertainty-bearing,' according to the aspect or function of capital to which he wishes to direct attention; and we get such barbarisms as the supply of 'uncertainty-bearing' and the demand for 'waiting.' Capital is no doubt a complex conception and has a long history, but it is too firmly embedded both in economic literature and in the language of the market-place to be expelled from current thought and usage. Imagine the prospectus of a company being issued, the 'waiting' and 'uncertainty-bearing' of which amount to so many thousand pounds. Or suppose that in Adam Smith or Ricardo, or for that matter in Pareto or Colson (who are modern and mathematical economists), wherever the term 'capital' occurs, we were to substitute one of these new-fangled abstractions.

We might have expected that, with this constant use of new terms and the appeal to mathematical ideas, the meaning, once the strangeness of the presentation is got over, ought to be perfectly clear. But the obscurity of the argument, both in general and in detail, seems to

show that the author himself does not think mathematically. Take, for example, the term 'elasticity' as applied to demand or supply. Everyone has some idea of what is meant by an elastic demand. It is easy to see that with some things a slight fall in price will lead to a considerable extension of the demand, and, as a consequence, that a much greater amount of money will be spent on the thing than was the case before. The idea is constantly applied in business, in taxation and in economic theory, and, like other fundamental economic ideas, was in general use long before the technical term elasticity was applied to it by Prof. Marshall. Gladstone, for example, always looked to the elasticity of revenue according to variations in the elasticity of the demand for the taxed commodities. In business of all kinds very often the most important problem is to find out what will be the probable effect on the aggregate purchases of a certain fall (or rise) in price. Surely, then, we ought to expect that there would be no uncertainty in the application of the idea in the case of Prof. Pigou. Yet two important examples may be cited to the contrary.

In Part II, ch. 2 he discusses the old problem of the effects of labour-saving machinery on wages and employment. In the course of the argument he arrives at the conclusion that the elasticity of the aggregate demand for British labour is immensely 'greater than unity.' This, to begin with, is taking for granted that his readers are familiar with the particular mathematical device by which Prof. Marshall measures elasticity, although only the student trained in this particular school of economics can be expected to know at once what idea these words stand for. Translated into plain English, they can only mean, according to Prof. Marshall's interpretation, that a small fall in the price of British labour would lead to a much greater aggregate amount of money being spent on labour. How does Prof. Pigou arrive at this extraordinary conclusion? In effect by assuming that the consequent rise in profit will bring in from abroad a large influx of capital. Could any conclusion be more remote from the facts regarding British labour and foreign capital?

There is a similar confusion as regards the use of the idea of elasticity in the argument (derived from Cournot)

that, under certain conditions, the amount of the factors of production, or more specially of capital, may be increased by impediments to mobility. Cournot used this general argument to prove that under certain conditions a policy of protective duties might be advantageous to a country; and incidentally it may be noticed that this application, at a time when the orthodox political economy was dominant, was one of the principal reasons which made economists doubt the validity of his mathematics. Prof. Pigou avoids this difficult argument for protection, and finds safety in hypotheses. The example given is too elaborate and involved for quotation; but the point is that it depends on an application of the idea of elasticity to the demand for, and the supply of, capital, which again leads to most paradoxical, not to say contradictory results. In brief, he is considering the effect of an increase in banking facilities in country districts and a consequent increase in the mobility of capital between town and country. This, it may be observed, is a practical case which has attracted much attention at the present time. It is often maintained that the displacement of the old private banks by branches of the great joint-stock banks has caused the capital of the country to flow to the towns instead of being employed in agriculture. And if the ultimate destination of this capital could be traced, it might be discovered in the development of the agriculture of the colonies or foreign states. This possible explanation of the increased mobility of capital leading to less employment of capital in Britain is intelligible and interesting. But Prof. Pigou, by making various unreal assumptions about the elasticity of supply of capital in town and country, is led to a paradoxical result far removed from the practical problem in question. He supposes that, as the result of the extension of banking, there may be on the whole a less accumulation of capital.

If Prof. Pigou's work were confined to imaginative paradoxes guarded always by the requisite hypotheses, it might furnish useful exercises to the student of mathematical economics, but the main intent, according to the author, is to have some practical influence on economic welfare as determined by the legislator. From this point of view the general argument and the mode of presentation

are open to grave objections. At the outset we are told that the whole purpose of economic investigation is not primarily scientific, 'if by science we intend the single-eyed search after knowledge for its own sake. It is rather practical and utilitarian, concerned chiefly to lay bare such parts of knowledge as may serve directly or indirectly to help forward the betterment of social life.' When this test is applied to Prof. Pigou's own enquiry into wealth and welfare, we may first look to the broad results, and, secondly, to the detailed treatment of some particular practical problems.

If we look for the general principles applied, and survey the broad results obtained, we find the argument rests on a simple application of the theory of utility, or, in popular phraseology, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' The simplicity of the application is shown by the treatment of the common objection that the additions to the incomes of the workers may be prevented from adding to the welfare of the nation by the stimulus they afford to population. We are told that this contention, even if valid, would not suffice to prove that better fortunes for the workers fail to increase economic welfare; 'for, after all, if the life of an average workman contains, on the whole, more satisfaction than dissatisfaction, an increase in numbers, even though it leave economic welfare per head the same, involves an addition to economic welfare in the aggregate.' That is to say, the bigger the ant-heap, provided the average ant has a balance of the pleasure of living over the pain of keeping alive, so much greater is the aggregate pleasure of the heap. As a simple sum in political arithmetic this particular example is no doubt quite correct. But, as the foundation of a system of practical legislation, this 'obvious and simple system' of greatest happiness is as impossible as the obvious and simple system of natural liberty which it has displaced. Either principle or idea must in practice be qualified by various other political and social principles, some of which derive their effective force from historical conditions. Adam Smith showed very clearly the qualifications needed even in his day for the principle of individual liberty. It is strange that Prof. Pigou should quote the 'highly optimistic' theory of Adam Smith, that the national dividend, in given

circumstances of demand and supply, tends naturally to a maximum, and should not mention at all the serious qualifications that were introduced by Adam Smith in the immediate context, and especially the references to the limitations imposed on liberty by justice, and to the advantages of the undertaking by the state of various public works and institutions. Prof. Pigou's translation of the plain language of Adam Smith into the language of marginal net products only removes further from the facts the actual presentation of the system of natural liberty.

Similarly Sidgwick showed very clearly that the principle of utility needed serious qualifications, and in the end, in spite of his thorough-going support of utilitarianism, he considers 'only very mild and gentle steps towards the realisation of the socialistic ideal as at all acceptable in the present state of our knowledge.' Prof. Pigou's economy of reference to Sidgwick is even more strange than his reticence regarding Adam Smith. For not only does the younger writer apply the same general principle of utility, but the main trend of the argument is the same. Yet Sidgwick's name is only mentioned in connexion with one or two points of minor detail. If Prof. Pigou had really appreciated the work of Sidgwick, he would have been saved from some unfortunate inconsistencies, and from some appalling lacunæ in his argument. If he had gone back to the original Adam Smith, or even to the Ricardian adaptation made by Mill, he would have been led to take some account of the institution of private property and of the laws of inheritance and bequest, and of the relations of the particular country considered to the rest of the commercial world. Instead of absorbing this old learning, Prof. Pigou quotes with approval the 'ingenious scheme' of M. Rignano expounded in a work entitled '*Di un socialismo in accordo colla doctrina economia liberale.*' According to this plan, resources would be taxed to the extent (say) of one-third when they descended from their original accumulator to his successor, the remainder would be taxed to the extent of two-thirds when this successor handed them on, while at the next succession the whole of what was left would be absorbed. There would be, we are told, 'some technical difficulty' in the enforcement of any plan of this kind ;

but no mention is made of the possibility that the resources might be transferred to some other country, e.g. Turkey or China, where the new economy was not so rampant. The main result of Prof. Pigou's argument is that the welfare of the nation would be greatly increased by the compulsory transfer of wealth from the richer to the poorer members. 'Convey, the wise it call,' said Ancient Pistol; but, perhaps, 'compulsory transfer' is more suggestive of the attainment of the socialist ideal by way of highly progressive taxation.

If we test the results of this latest application of mathematical economics by particular problems, we find the same disregard of the work of other writers and the same straining after the appearance of originality. A chapter is devoted to the special case of railway rates; and, by insistence on a peculiar interpretation of joint-supply and of the value-of-service principle, Prof. Pigou tries to show that a popular confusion has vitiated the great bulk of modern discussion on the railway-rate problem. 'An accident of language has caused an important field of economic inquiry to be dominated by a doctrine which is essentially unsound.' This accident of language, we are told, is the misunderstanding of the term 'joint-supply.' According to Prof. Pigou, 'two products are supplied jointly when a unit of investment expended upon increasing the normal output of one necessarily increases that of the other.' In this sense, he says, the transportation of coal and the transportation of copper along a railway are not joint products; and accordingly the maxim of charging what the traffic will bear, which is supposed to depend on this theory of joint-supply, falls to the ground. It would be strange if such writers as Mr Acworth and Mr Hadley and the whole tribe of railway experts, practical and theoretical, have fallen into a gross error by not understanding the words they use. The alternative suggestion that Prof. Pigou has misunderstood his authors is at least as probable. The old idea of joint-supply was that two or more things produced together give under competition the normal rate of profit on the capital, and that the relative prices *inter se* depend on demand and supply. If in place of competition we introduce monopoly, we must read for 'normal' profit 'maximum' profit. If, then, a railway is

subject to competition or monopoly or to a mixture of both, the rates *inter se* will be adjusted to what the traffic will bear, that is, will depend on the demand for the services in connexion with the supply of means available.

Other particular problems might be cited in which there is shown the same tendency to overlook the work already done or to translate accepted theories into the new language. There are chapters on the theory of index numbers, on co-operation, on the various causes and remedies of unemployment, on the latest application of the tabular standard for lessening the variability of wages, and on a number of practical problems, all of which have been the subject of much special study. In so wide a range there are often evidences of original thinking, of apt illustration, and of vigorous criticism, and in other cases there is the expression in fresh language of old ideas. The chapter (Part II, ch. 9) on the conditions which determine the appearance of monopolistic power in modern industries is a good example of didactic presentation of accepted ideas; the examination of the influences of heredity and environment (Part I, ch. 4) is fresh, though it begins with the strange assertion that the older economists only considered the quantity and not the quality of the people (which is directly the reverse of the truth); and other instances of exposition or criticism might be commended. But the relation of the parts to the whole, in spite of an analytical table of contents extending over twenty pages of small print, is not clear. The truth is that the thread on which the pearls or beads are hung is not strong enough to support the weight. This thread is the 'marginal equality of net products.'

The ideas concealed under this forbidding expression are difficult to express in ordinary English. Perhaps the best introduction is the lucid though lengthy attempt of Mr Wicksteed. Prof. Pigou simply takes it for granted that the expression and the curves by which it is illustrated ought to be intelligible without any elaborate explanation. And yet, if we have here presented a new idea, which is to be the supreme test of economic welfare, it must be capable of translation into ordinary thought. The nature of the idea may perhaps be understood from the applications. The main practical result seems to be

that we are to look on all the resources of a nation—land, labour, and capital—as given to the nation to be used in the first place so as to produce a maximum national dividend. This we are assured will be effected if, in general, there is equality in the marginal net products of all these resources. This means that the nation should never spend a penny more in any one line of business, if it can use the penny to a little more advantage in some other line. If, then, the natural and acquired habits of individuals do not achieve this economy of production, there is a *prima facie* case for governmental interference. The maximum dividend being thus secured, the next step is to distribute it so that the maximum utility may be obtained for the nation. Here again we apply the principle of equality. If a little more utility is to be got by the transfer from one set of people to another, then also, if natural charity falls short, a case is made out for compulsory transfer. 'Once the things are there,' as Mill said, 'society can dispose of them in any way that it pleases.' Care must, indeed, be taken that the method of distribution does not hinder the things from getting there at all. Putting together these two main ideas of maximum production and maximum utility, the system as presented by Prof. Pigou may be described as a species of mathematical socialism. As such, like other forms of socialism, it comes in conflict with the different systems of economic thought which are based on other principles and ideas; which take more account, for example, of personal liberty and individual property and of the historical conditions under which our present methods of production and distribution have been evolved.

The difference between this mathematical socialism and the modified individualism of so-called orthodox writers may be realised by comparing 'Wealth and Welfare' with the second volume of Dr Pierson's 'Principles of Economics,' of which a translation from the Dutch has just been published. Unfortunately the long delay has taken somewhat from the freshness of some of the illustrations, but the main results are of permanent interest and value. Especially is this the case in the last part (Part IV), which treats of the revenues of the state, of public domains and taxation, of national expenditure and

loans. Here we have the different principles carefully analysed and illustrated by reference to the actual tax-systems of different countries. There is the same combination of theory and experience in the treatment of land-tenures and the growth of population. Dr Pierson, of course, had the great advantage of combining theoretical study with practical statesmanship; and there could be no greater contrast than between his treatment and the mathematical socialism of Prof. Pigou.

It will be unfortunate if the obscurity of Prof. Pigou's presentation of economic principles should throw discredit on the uses of the mathematical method. 'The direct application of mathematical reasoning to the discovery of economic truths is rarely of much service except in the quest of statistical averages and probabilities and in measuring the degree of consilience between correlated statistical tables.' So writes Dr Marshall, the economist to whom Prof. Pigou has dedicated his book. Unquestionably the work of Cournot and his successors has done much to clear up the relations of fundamental economic conceptions quite apart from statistical applications, but there could be no more fatal mistake than to suppose that the only scientific mode of treating economics is the mathematical. In parts, as the greatest writers have shown by their own practice, political economy is more closely allied to moral philosophy, to jurisprudence, and especially to history, than to mathematics. One of the most brilliant of mathematical economists of the present day, Vilfredo Pareto, in the preface to his excellent systematic '*Cours d'Économie Politique*,' based on his lectures at Lausanne, states that it is only in certain parts of the subject that mathematical ideas are applicable, and that in others it may be desirable to appeal to history, philosophy, philology, biology, or evolution. And, as he says, the text of his work can be read by anyone possessed of 'general culture,' because scientific arguments, mathematical or other, that require special knowledge are rigorously thrown into the notes.

The elaborate and altogether admirable '*Cours d'Économie Politique*' by C. Colson (in six volumes), based on the author's lectures at the *École nationale des Ponts et Chaussées*, is a still more remarkable example of the adjustment of mathematical ideas and methods to

the requirements of the subject. M. Colson is engineer-in-chief of his department, and his course of lectures is given to students of engineering who are familiar with the practical applications of mathematics. But the mathematics employed are never beyond the range of a person of ordinary education, and are used only for appropriate subjects. M. Colson, in his introduction, almost apologises for the attention given to questions of civil and commercial law. In France political economy is in general studied in the Faculty of Law; and some knowledge of law may be taken for granted. To English students, however, who as a rule are not trained in the law, M. Colson's introduction on legal conceptions in relation to economic principles should be of special value. In England and in English-speaking countries in recent years far too much stress has been laid on those aspects of economics which lend themselves to mathematical illustration. The consequence is that important parts of the subject have been neglected or, if not neglected, have been pruned and lopped until they can be put in the fashionable terminology and the usual curves. With this extrusion of certain parts, the development beyond all sense of proportion of other parts (especially of the theory of value) has led to a narrow treatment, expressed in unfamiliar technical language, or worse still in familiar words with unfamiliar meanings. The old rule of definition is still to be preferred, which declares that, so far as possible, the terms employed in economics should follow the best popular usage, and, if there is ambiguity, a qualifying adjective or phrase will give the necessary light. And good old rules also are those of Newton that hypotheses are not to be feigned nor causes to be multiplied beyond necessity. In the observance of these rules we may say of recent economic literature that 'they order this matter better in France.'

J. S. NICHOLSON.

Art. 6.—TROUBADOURS: THEIR SORTS AND CONDITIONS.

THE argument as to whether or no the troubadours are a subject worthy of study is an old and respectable one. It is far too old and respectable to be decided hastily or by one not infallible person. If Guillaume, Count of Peiteus, grandfather of King Richard Cœur de Lion, had not been a man of many energies, there might have been little food for this discussion. He was, as the old book says of him, 'of the greatest counts in the world, and he had his way with women.' Besides this he made songs for either them or himself or for his more ribald companions. They say also that his wife was Countess of Dia, 'fair lady and righteous,' who fell in love with Raimbaut d'Aurenga and made him many a song. However that may be, Count Guillaume made composition in verse the best of court fashions, and gave it a social prestige which it held till the accursed crusade of 1208 against the Albigenses. The mirth of Provençal song is at times anything but sunburnt, and the mood is often anything but idle. The forms of the poetry are highly artificial, and as artifice they have still for the serious craftsman an interest, less indeed than they had for Dante, but by no means inconsiderable. No student of the period can doubt that the involved forms, and especially the veiled meanings in the 'trobar clus,' grew out of living conditions, and that these songs played a very real part in love intrigue and in the intrigue preceding warfare. The time had no press and no theatre. If you wish to make love to women in public, and out loud, you must resort to subterfuge; and Guillaume St Leider even went so far as to get the husband of his lady to do the seductive singing.

If a man of our time be so crotchety as to wish emotional, as well as intellectual, acquaintance with an age so out of fashion as the 12th century, he may try in several ways to attain it. He may read the songs themselves from the old books—from the illuminated vellum—and he will learn what the troubadours meant to the folk of the century just after their own, as well as a little about their costume from the illuminated capitals. Or he may try listening to the words with the music, for,

thanks to Jean Beck and others, it is now possible to hear the old tunes. They are perhaps a little Oriental in feeling, and it is likely that the spirit of Sufism is not wholly absent from their content. Or, again, a man may walk the hill-roads and river-roads from Limoges and Charente to Dordogne and Narbonne and learn a little, or more than a little, of what the country meant to the wandering singers. He may learn, or think he learns, why so many canzos open with speech of the weather; or why such a man made war on such and such castles. Once more, he may learn the outlines of these events from the 'razzos,' or prose paragraphs of introduction, which are sometimes called 'lives of the troubadours.' And, if he have mind for these latter, he will find in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris the manuscript of Miquel de la Tour, written, perhaps, in the author's own handwriting; at least we read 'I Miquel de la Tour, scryven, do ye to wit.'

Miquel gives us to know that such and such ladies were courted or loved or sung with greater or less good fortune by such and such minstrels of various degree, for one man was a poor vavassour, and another was King Amfos of Aragon; and another, Vidal, was son of a furrier, and sang better than any man in the world; and another was a poor knight that had but part of a castle; and another was a clerk,* and he had an understanding with a *borgesa* who had no mind to love him or to keep him, and who became mistress to the Count of Rodez. 'Voila l'estat divers d'entre eulx.'

There was indeed a difference of estate and fortune between them. The monk, Gaubertz de Poicebot, 'was a man of birth; he was of the bishopric of Limozin, son of the castellan of Poicebot. And he was made monk when he was a child in a monastery, which is called Sain Leonart. And he knew well letters, and well to sing, and well *trobar*.† And for desire of woman he went forth from the monastery. And he came thence to the man to whom came all who for courtesy wished honour and good deeds—to Sir Savarie de Malleon—and this man gave him the harness of a joglar and a horse and clothing; and then he went through the courts and composed and

* Raimon de Miraval and Uc Brunecs respectively.

† Poetical composition, literally 'to find.'

made good canzos. And he set his heart upon a donzella gentle and fair and made his songs of her, and she did not wish to love him unless he should get himself made a knight and take her to wife. And he told En Savaric how the girl had refused him, wherefore En Savaric made him a knight and gave him land and the income from it. And he married the girl and held her in great honour. And it happened that he went into Spain, leaving her behind him. And a knight out of England set his mind upon her and did so much and said so much that he led her with him, and he kept her long time his mistress and then let her go to the dogs (*malamen anar*). And En Gaubertz returned from Spain, and lodged himself one night in the city where she was. And he went out for desire of woman, and he entered the *alberc* of a poor woman; for they told him there was a fine woman within. And he found his wife. And when he saw her, and she him, great was the grief between them and great shame. And he stopped the night with her, and on the morrow he went forth with her and took her to a nunnery where he had her enter. And for this grief he ceased to sing and to compose. If you are minded, as Browning was in his 'One Word More,' you may search out the very song En Gaubertz made, riding down the second time from Malleon, flushed with the unexpected knighthood.

'Per amor del belh temps suau
E quar fin amor men somo.'*

'For love of the sweet time and soft' he besesches this 'lady in whom joy and worth have shut themselves and all good in its completeness' to give him grace and the kisses due to him a year since. And he ends in envoi to Savaric.

'Senher savaric larc e bo
Vos troba hom tota fazo
Quel vostre ric fag son prezan
El dig cortes e benestan.'†

* 'For love of the fair time and soft,
And because fine love calleth me to it.'

† 'Milord Savaric, generous
To thy last bond, men find thee thus,
That thy rich acts are food for praise
And courtly are thy words and days.'

La Tour has given us seed of drama in the passage above rendered. He has left us also an epic in his straightforward prose. 'Piere de Maensac was of Alverne (Auvergne) a poor knight, and he had a brother named Austors de Maensac, and they both were troubadours and they both were in concord that one should take the castle and the other the *trobar*.' And presumably they tossed up a *marabotin* or some such obsolete coin, for we read, 'And the castle went to Austors and the poetry to Piere, and he sang of the wife of Bernart de Tierci. So much he sang of her and so much he honoured her that it befell that the lady let herself go (*furar a del*). And he took her to the castle of the Dalfin of Auvergne, and the husband, "in the manner of the golden Menelaus," demanded her much, with the church to back him and with the great war that they made. But the Dalfin maintained him (Piere) so that he never gave her up. He (Piere) was a straight man (*dreitz om*) and good company, and he made charming songs, tunes and the words, and good coblas of pleasure.' And among them is one beginning

'Longa saison ai estat vas amor
Humils e francs, y ai faich son coman.'*

Dante and Browning have created so much interest in Sordello that it may not be amiss to give the brief account of him as it stands in a manuscript in the Ambrosian library at Milan. 'Lo Sordels *si fo di Mantovana*. Sordello was of Mantuan territory of Sirier (this would hardly seem to be Goito), son of a poor cavalier who had name Sier Escort (Browning's El Corte), and he delighted himself in chançons, to learn and to make them. And he mingled with the good men of the court. And he learned all that he could and he made coblas and sirventes. And he came thence to the court of the Count of St Bonifaci, and the Count honoured him much. And he fell in love with the wife of the Count, in the form of pleasure (*a forma de solatz*), and she with him. (The Palma of Browning's poem and the Cunizza of Dante's.) And it befell that the Count stood ill with her brothers.

* 'For a long time have I stood toward Love
Humble and frank, and have done his commands.'

And thus he estranged himself from her, and from Sier Sceillme and Sier Albrics. Thus her brothers caused her to be stolen from the Count by Sier Sordello and the latter came to stop with them. And he (Sordello) stayed a long time with them in great happiness, and then he went into Proenssa where he received great honours from all the good men and from the Count and from the Countess who gave him a good castle and a wife of gentle birth.'

The luck of the troubadours was as different as their ranks, and they were drawn from all social orders. We are led away far indeed from polite and polished society when we come to take note of that Gringoire, Guillem Figiera, 'son of a tailor; and he was a tailor; and when the French got hold of Toulouse he departed into Lombardy. And he knew well *trobar* and to sing, and he made himself *joglar* among the townsfolk (*ciutadins*). He was not a man who knew how to carry himself among the barons or among the better class, but much he got himself welcomed among harlots and slatterns and by inn-keepers and taverners. And if he saw coming a good man of the court, there where he was, he was sorry and grieved at it, and he nearly split himself to take him down a peg (*et ades percussava de lui abaissar*).'

For one razzo that shows an unusual character there are a dozen that say simply that such or such a man was of Manes, or of Cataloigna by Rossilon, or of elsewhere, 'a poor cavalier.'* They made their way by favour at times, or by singing, or by some other form of utility. Ademar of Gauvedan 'was of the castle Marvois, son of a poor knight. He was knighted by the lord of Marvois. He was a brave man but could not keep up his estate as knight, and he became jongleur and was respected by all the best people. And later he went into orders at Gran Mon.' Elias Cairels 'was of Sarlat; ill he sang, ill he composed, ill he played the fiddle and worse he spoke, but he was good at writing out words and tunes. And he was a long time wandering, and when he quitted it, he returned to Sarlat and died there.' Perdigo was the son of a fisherman and made his fortune by his art. Peirol was a poor knight who was fitted out by the Dalfin of

* For example, Peire Bremon and Palazol,

Auvergne and made love to Sail de Claustra; and all we know of Cercamon is that he made *vers* and *pastorelas* in the old way and that 'he went everywhere he could get to.' Pistoleta 'was a singer for Arnaut of Marvoil, and later he took to *trobar* and made songs with pleasing tunes and he was well received by the best people, although a man of little comfort and of poor endowment and of little stamina. And he took a wife at Marseilles and became a merchant and became rich and ceased going about the courts.' Guillems the skinny was a joglar of Manes, and the capital letter shows him throwing 3, 5, and 4, on a red dice board. 'Never had he on harness, and what he gained he lost *malamen*, to the taverns and the women. And he ended in a hospital in Spain.'

The razzos have in them the seeds of literary criticism. The speech is, however, laconic. Aimar lo Ners was a gentleman. 'He made such songs as he knew how to.' Aimeric de Sarlat, a joglar, became a troubadour, 'and yet he made but one song.' Peire Guillem of Toulouse 'Made good coblas, but he made too many.' Daude of Pradas made cansos 'per sen de trobar,' which I think we may translate 'from a mental grasp of the craft.' 'But they did not move from love, wherefore they had not favour among folk. They were not sung.' We find also that the labour and skill were divided. One man played the viol most excellently, and another sang, and another spoke his songs to music,* and another, Jaufre Rudel, Brebezieu's father-in-law, made good tunes with poor words to go with them.

The troubadour's person comes in for as much free criticism as his performance. Elias fons Salada was 'a fair man verily, as to feature, a joglar, no good troubadour.' † But Faidit, a joglar of Uzerche, 'was exceedingly greedy both to drink and to eat, and he became fat beyond measure. And he took to wife a public woman; very fair and well taught she was, but she became as big and fat as he was. And she was from a rich town Alest of the Mark of Provenca from the seignory of En Bernart d'Andussa.'

* Richard of Brebezieu (disin sons).

† The 'joglar' was the player and singer, the 'troubadour' the 'finder or composer of songs and words.

One of the noblest figures of the time, if we are to believe the chronicle, was Savaric de Mauleon, a rich baron of Peitieu, whom I have mentioned above, son of Sir Reios de Malleon; 'lord was he of Malleon and of Talarnom and of Fontenai, and of castle Aillon and of Boet and of Benaon and of St Miquel en Letz and of the isle of Ners and of the isle of Mues and of Nestrine and of Engollius and of many other good places.' As one may read in the continuation of this notice and verify from the *razzos* of the other troubadours, 'he was of the most open-handed men in the world.' He seems to have left little verse save the *tenzon* with Faidit.

'Behold divers estate between them all!' Yet, despite the difference in conditions of life between the 12th century and our own, these few citations should be enough to prove that the people were much the same, and if the preceding notes do not do this, there is one tale left that should succeed.

'The Vicomte of St Antoni was of the bishopric of Caortz (Cahors), Lord and Vicomte of St Antoni; and he loved a noble lady who was wife of the seignor of Pena Dalbeges, of a rich castle and a strong. The lady was gentle and fair and valiant and highly prized and much honoured; and he very valiant and well trained and good at arms and charming, and a good *trobaire*, and had name Raimons Jordans; and the lady was called the Vicontesse de Pena; and the love of these two was beyond all measure. And it befell that the Viscount went into a land of his enemies and was grievously wounded, so that report held him for dead. And at the news she in great grief went and gave candles at church for his recovery. And he recovered. And at this news also she had great grief.' And she fell a-moping, and that was the end of the affair with St Antoni, and 'thus was there more than one in deep distress.' 'Wherefore' Elis of Montfort, wife of William à-Gordon, daughter of the Viscount of Trozena, the glass of fashion and the mould of form, the pride of 'youth, beauty, courtesy,' and presumably of justice, mercy, long-suffering, and so forth, made him overtures, and successfully. And the rest is a matter of so much sweetness and honey that I do not venture to transcribe it.

If humanity was much the same, it is equally certain

that individuals were not any more like one another ; and this may be better shown in the uncommunicative *canzoni* than in the razzos. Thus we have a pastoral from the sensitive and little known Joios of Tolosa :

‘Lautrier el dous temps de pascor
En una ribeira,’

which runs thus :

‘The other day, in the sweet time of Easter, I went across a flat land of rivers hunting for new flowers, walking by the side of the path, and for delight in the greenness of things and because of the complete good faith and love which I bear for her who inspires me, I felt a melting about my heart and at the first flower I found, I burst into tears.

‘And I wept until, in a shady place, my eyes fell upon a shepherdess. Fresh was her colour, and she was white as a snow-drift, and she had doves’ eyes,’

and the rest of it.

And in very different key we find the sardonic Count of Foix, in a song which begins mildly enough for a spring song :

‘Mas qui a flor si vol mesclar,’

and turns swiftly enough to a livelier measure :

‘Ben deu gardar lo sieu baston
Car frances sabon grans colps dar
Et albirar ab lor bordon
E nous fizes in carcasses
Ni en genes ni en gascon.’ *

My purpose in all this is to suggest to the casual reader that the Middle Ages did not exist in tapestry alone, nor in the 14th century romances, but that there was a life like our own, no mere sequence of citherns and citoles, nor a continuous stalking about in sendal and diaspre. Men were pressed for money. There was unspeakable boredom in the castles. The chivalric singing

* ‘Let no man lounge amid the flowers
Without a stout club of some kind.
Know ye the French are stiff in stours
And sing not all they have in mind,
So trust ye not in Carcason
In Genovese nor in Gascon.’

was devised to lighten the boredom; and this very singing became itself in due time, in the manner of all things, an ennui.

There has been so much written about the poetry of the best Provençal period, to wit the end of the 12th century, that I shall say nothing of it here, but shall confine the latter part of this essay to a mention of three efforts, or three sorts of effort which were employed to keep poetry alive after the crusade of 1208.

Any study of European poetry is unsound if it does not commence with a study of that art in Provence. The art of quantitative verse had been lost. This loss was due more to ignorance than to actual changes of language, from Latin, that is, into the younger tongues. It is open to doubt whether the Æolic singing was ever comprehended fully even in Rome. When men began to write on tablets and ceased singing to the *barbitos*, a loss of some sort was unavoidable. Propertius may be cited as an exception, but Propertius writes only one metre. In any case the classic culture of the Renaissance was grafted on to medieval culture, a process which is excellently illustrated by Andrea Divus Iustinopolitanus' translation of the *Odyssey* into Latin. It is true that each century after the Renaissance has tried in its own way to come nearer the classic, but, if we are to understand that part of our civilisation which is the art of verse, we must begin at the root, and that root is medieval. The poetic art of Provence paved the way for the poetic art of Tuscany; and to this Dante bears sufficient witness in his treatise '*De Vulgari Eloquentia*.' The heritage of art is one thing to the public and quite another to the succeeding artists. The artist's inheritance from other artists can be little more than certain enthusiasms, which usually spoil his first work, and a definite knowledge of the modes of expression which goes to perfecting his more mature performance. All this is a matter of technique.

After the compositions of Vidal and of Rudel and of Ventadour, of Bornelh and Bertrans de Born and Arnaut Daniel, there seemed little chance of doing distinctive work in the '*canzon de l'amour courtois*.' There was no way, or at least there was no man in Provence capable

of finding a new way of saying in seven closely rhymed strophes that a certain girl, matron or widow was like a certain set of things, and that the troubadour's virtues were like another set, and that all this was very sorrowful or otherwise, and that there was but one obvious remedy. Richard of Brebezieu had done his best for tired ears; he had made similes of beasts and of the stars which got him a passing favour. He had compared himself to the fallen elephant and to the self-piercing pelican, and no one could go any further. Novelty is reasonably rare even in modes of decadence and revival. The three devices tried for poetic restoration in the early 13th century were the three usual devices. Certain men turned to talking art and æsthetics and attempted to dress up the folk-song. Certain men tried to make verse more engaging by stuffing it with an intellectual and argumentative content. Certain men turned to social satire. Roughly, we may divide the interesting work of the later Provençal period into these three divisions. As all of these men had progeny in Tuscany, they are, from the historical point of view, worth a few moments' attention.

The first school is best represented in the work of Giraut Riquier of Narbonne. His most notable feat was the revival of the *Pastorela*. The *Pastorela* is a poem in which a knight tells of having met with a shepherdess or some woman of that class, and of what fortune and conversation befell him. The form had been used long before by Marcabrun, and is familiar to us in such poems as Guido Cavalcanti's 'In un boschetto trovai pastorella,' or in Swinburne's 'An Interlude.' Guido, who did all things well, whenever the fancy took him, has raised this form to a surpassing excellence in his poem 'Era in pensier d'Amor, quand' io trovai.' Riquier is most amusing in his account of the inn-mistress at Sant Pos de Tomeiras, but even there he is less amusing than was Marcabrun when he sang of the shepherdess in 'L'autrier iost' una sebissa.' Riquier has, however, his place in the apostolic succession; and there is no reason why Cavalcanti and Riquier should not have met while the former was on his journey to Campostella, although Riquier may as easily have been in Spain at the time. At any rate the Florentine noble would have heard the *pastorelas* of Giraut; and this may have set him to his *ballate*, which

seems to date from the time of his meeting with Mandetta in Toulouse. Or it may have done nothing of the kind. The only settled fact is that Riquier was then the best-known living troubadour and near the end of his course.

The second, and to us the dullest of the schools, set to explaining the nature of love and its affects. The normal modern will probably slake all his curiosity for this sort of work in reading one such poem as the King of Navarre's 'De Fine amour vient science e beautez.' 'Ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit,' as Propertius put it, or *anglice* :

'Knowledge and beauty from true love are wrought,
And likewise love is born from this same pair;
These three are one to whoso hath true thought,' etc.

There might be less strain if one sang it. This peculiar variety of flame was carried to the altars of Bologna, whence Guinicello sang :

'Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore,
Come l'augello in selva alla verdura.'

And Cavalcanti wrote : 'A lady asks me, wherefore I wish to speak of an accident which is often cruel.' Upon this poem there are nineteen great and learned commentaries. And Dante, following in his elders' footsteps, has burdened us with a 'Convito.'

The third school is the school of satire, and is the only one which gives us a contact with the normal life of the time. There had been Provençal satire before Piere Cardinal; but the sirventes of Sordello and de Born were directed for the most part against persons, while the Canon of Clermont drives rather against conditions. In so far as Dante is critic of morals, Cardinal must be held as his forerunner. Miquel writes of him as follows :

'Peire Cardinal was of Veillac of the city Pui Ma Donna, and he was of honourable lineage, son of a knight and a lady. And when he was little his father put him for canon in the *canonica major* of Pui; and he learnt letters, and he knew well how to read and to sing; and when he was come to man's estate he had high knowledge of the vanity of this world, for he felt himself gay and fair and young. And he made many fair arguments and fair songs. And he made cansos, but he made only a few of these, and sirventes; and he did best in the said sirventes where he set forth many fine

arguments and fair examples for those who understand them; for much he rebuked the folly of this world and much he reproved the false clerks, as his sirventes show. And he went through the courts of kings and of noble barons and took with him his joglar who sang the sirventes. And much was he honoured and welcomed by my lord the good king of Aragon and by honourable barons. And I, master Miquel de la Tour, escruian (scribe), do ye to wit that N. Peire Cardinal when he passed from this life was nearly a hundred. And I, the aforesaid Miquel, have written these sirventes in the city of Nemze (Nîmes) and here are written some of his sirventes.'

If the Vicontesse de Pena reminds us of certain ladies with whom we have met, these sirventes of Cardinal may well remind us that thoughtful men have in every age found almost the same set of things or at least the same sort of things to protest against; if it be not a corrupt press or some monopoly, it is always some sort of equivalent, some conspiracy of ignorance and interest. And thus he says, 'Li clerc si fan pastor.' The clerks pretend to be shepherds, but they are wolfish at heart.

If he can find a straight man, it is truly matter for song; and so we hear him say of the Duke of Narbonne, who was, apparently, making a fight for honest administration:

'Coms raymon duc de Narbona
 Marques de proensa
 Vostra valors es tan bona
 Que tot lo mon gensa,
 Quar de la mar de bayona
 En tro a valenca
 Agra gent falsae fellona
 Lai ab vil temensa,
 Mas vos tenetz vil lor
 Q'n frances bevedor
 Plus qua * perditz auster
 No vos fan temensa.' †

* Here lies the difficulty of all this sort of scholarship! Is this 'qua' or 'que'? The change of the letter will shift us into irony.

† 'Now is come from France what one did not ask for'—he is addressing the man who is standing against the North—

'Count Raymon, Duke of Narbonne,
 Marquis of Provence,
 Your valour is sound enough
 To make up for the cowardice of
 All the rest of the gentry.

Cardinal is not content to spend himself in mere abuse, like the little tailor Figeira, who rhymes Christ's 'mortal pena' with

'Car voletz totzjors portar la borsa plena,'

which is one way of saying 'Judas!' to the priests. He, Cardinal, sees that the technique of honesty is not always utterly simple.

'Li postilh, legat elh cardinal
Fa cordon tug, y an fag establir
Que qui nos pot de traisson esdir,'

which may mean, 'The pope and the legate and the cardinal have twisted such a cord that they have brought things to such a pass that no one can escape committing treachery.' As for the rich:

'Li ric home an pietat tan gran
Del autre gen quon ac caym da bel
Que mais volon tolre q loḡ no fan
E mais mentir que tozas de bordelh.' *

Of the clergy, 'A tantas vey baylia,' 'So much the more do I see clerks coming into power that all the world will be theirs, whoever objects. For they'll have it with taking or with giving' (i.e. by granting land, belonging to one man, to someone else who will pay allegiance for it, as in the case of De Montfort), 'or with pardon or with hypocrisy; or by assault or by drinking and eating; or by prayers or by praising the worse; or with God or with devilry.' We find him putting the age-long query about profit in the following.

'He may have enough harness
And sorrel horses and bays;

For from the sea at Bayonne,
Even to Valence,
Folk would have given in (sold out),
But you hold them in scorn,
[Or, reading "l'aur," "scorn the gold."]
So that the drunken French
Alarm you no more
Than a partridge frightens a hawk.'

* 'The rich men have such pity

For other folk—about as much as Cain had for Abel.
For they would like to leave less than the wolves do,
And to lie more than girls in a brothel.'

Tower, wall, and palace,
 May he have
 —The rich man denying his God.*

The stanza runs very smoothly to the end

'Si mortz no fos
 Elh valgra per un cen.'*

The modern Provençal enthusiast who is in raptures at the idea of chivalric love (a term which he usually misunderstands), and who is little concerned with the art of verse, has often failed to notice how finely the sound of Cardinal's poems is matched with their meaning. There is a lash and sting in his timbre and in his movement. Yet the old man is not always bitter; or, if he is bitter, it is with the bitterness of a torn heart and not of a hard one. It is so we find him in the *sirvente* beginning:

'As a man weepeth for his son or for his father,
 Or for his friend when death has taken him,
 So do I mourn for the living who do their own ill,
 False, disloyal, felon, and full of ill-fare,
 Deceitful, breakers-of-pact,
 Cowards, complainers,
 Highwaymen, thieves-by-stealth, turn-coats,
 Betrayers, and full of treachery,
 Here where the devil reigns
 And teaches them to act thus.'

He is almost the only singer of his time to protest against the follies of war. As here:

'Ready for war, as night is to follow the sun,
 Readier for it than is the fool to be cuckold
 When he has first plagued his wife!
 And war is an ill thing to look upon,
 And I know that there is not one man drawn into it
 But his child, or his cousin or someone akin to him
 Prays God that it be given over.'

He says plainly, in another place, that the barons make war for their own profit, regardless of the peasants. 'Fai mal senher vas los sieu.' His sobriety is not to be fooled

* 'A hundred men he would be worth
 Were there no death.'

with sentiment either martial or otherwise. There is in him little of the fashion of feminolatriy, and the gentle reader in search of trunk-hose and the light guitar had better go elsewhere. As for women: 'L'una fai drut.'

'One turns leman for the sake of great possessions;
And another because poverty is killing her,
And one hasn't even a shift of coarse linen;
And another has two and does likewise.
And one gets an old man—and she is a young wench,
And the old woman gives the man an elixir.'

As for justice, there is little now: 'If a rich man steal by chicanery, he will have right before Constantine (i.e. by legal circumambience), but the poor thief may go hang.' And after this there is a passage of pity and of irony fine-drawn as much of his work is, for he keeps the very formula that De Born had used in his praise of battle, 'Belh mes quan vey'; and, perhaps, in Sir Bertrans' time even the Provençal wars may have seemed more like a game, and may have appeared to have some element of sport and chance in them. But the 12th century had gone, and the spirit of the people was weary, and the old canon's passage may well serve as a final epitaph on all that remained of silk thread and *cisclatons*, of viol and *gai saber*.

'Never again shall we see the Easter come in so fairly,
That was wont to come in with pleasure and with song.
No! but we see it arrayed with alarms and excursions,
Arrayed with war and dismay and fear,
Arrayed with troops and with cavalcades,
Oh yes, it's a fine sight to see holder and shepherd
Going so wretched that they know not where they are.'

EZRA POUND.

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 Art. 7.—FORESTRY IN ENGLAND AND ABROAD.

1. *The Forest Resources of the World.* Bulletin 83. U.S. Dept. of Agriculture.
2. *Forestry (Journal of the Royal English Arboricultural Society.)* London : Laughton.
3. *Transactions of the Royal Scottish Arboricultural Society.* Edinburgh : Douglas.
4. *Board of Trade Returns.* (Annual.) London : Wyman.
5. *Forest Service. Circulars* 97, 162, 171. U.S. Dept. of Agriculture.
6. *Department of Trade, Canada. Weekly Report,* No. 315.
7. *Proceedings of Select Committees and Royal Commissions on Coast Erosion and Afforestation.* London : Wyman.

It is proposed to review the facts regarding the timber supply of the world, so far as they can be ascertained, since the question of an adequate supply of raw material is of primary importance to every industrial nation. It is essential that those who are interested in the welfare of their country should be warned that, unless vigorous and immediate steps are taken to afforest our waste lands, we shall be faced with a shortage of raw material long before the close of the present century. Experts in every country are agreed that the world's supply of structural and coniferous timber is rapidly diminishing, and that a shortage must be experienced at a period not far remote. We have therefore to review the principal forest-resources of the world and the steps that have been taken here and elsewhere to provide for the future.

In recent years there have been several Departmental Committees and one Royal Commission on Forestry, and a vast amount of valuable evidence has been published in connexion with their proceedings. It is largely due, however, to the Royal Scottish and the Royal English Arboricultural Societies and to the writings of such men as Sir William Schlich, F.R.S., that Forestry is being studied as a science in this country and is beginning to be better understood. The Board of Agriculture has now a section for dealing with the subject; and its publications, as well as those of the Royal Botanical Gardens of Kew, contain much useful information.

There are three sets of figures from which a fair comparison may be drawn between the forest conditions in this country and those in other countries of Europe. The first shows in each country the percentage of forest land to the total area; the second the estimated annual growth of wood per acre of forest; and the third the estimated annual return per acre from the forests. In the United Kingdom the acreage under woodland and plantations in 1908 was as follows: England, 1,792,338 acres; Scotland, 919,056 acres; Ireland, 305,000 acres; Wales, 198,078 acres; Total, 3,214,472 acres. The total land surface of the United Kingdom amounts to 75,706,668 acres; the percentage of woodland and forest is therefore rather more than 4 per cent. of the whole. The percentage of forests to total land area in other countries is for Russia, 40; Austria-Hungary, 30; Germany, 26; Italy, 18; Sweden, 48; Norway, 21; Switzerland, 21; Spain, 17; Belgium, 17; Holland, 7; Denmark, 6.

The second comparison is a more technical one, but with a little reflection the figures should be as easy to understand as those given above. From the point of view of scientific forestry, it is an acknowledged fact that our woodlands are in an unproductive state and make a poor comparison with those of other European countries. It is estimated that the average annual growth in cubic feet of timber for the three million odd acres in these islands is only 10 cubic feet per acre. Hedgerow and park trees are not included in these figures. Now it is generally held that our forest lands are capable, under scientific management, of producing an annual growth of at least 60 cubic feet per acre; and this estimate is not too high, as the conditions of soil and climate in Great Britain are very favourable to tree growth. In Germany, where scientific forestry has been practised for a century, it is estimated that the average annual growth or increment for the whole of the German forests is 50 cubic feet per acre. The German forests, under scientific management, are therefore yielding, acre for acre, five times as much wood as the forests in this country. The estimated annual yield in cubic feet per acre for other countries is, Austria-Hungary, 43; France, 39; Italy, 37; Belgium, 58; Switzerland, 50. In Russia, Sweden, and Norway a considerable portion of the forest area is at a

very high latitude; and the yield, in consequence, is lower than for more southerly parts of Europe. In Sweden the annual growth is estimated at 25 cubic feet; in the northern parts of Norway, it is as low as 11·3 per acre. Thus Great Britain lags far behind.

Owing to lack of information the third set of figures is unfortunately not so complete, but is sufficiently accurate for the purpose of an approximate comparison. It has been estimated that in 1908 the value of all timber and wood cut from woodlands in Great Britain averaged 5s. 9d. per acre. On the Continent gross annual returns up to 2l. per acre are not uncommon. The annual value per acre of the timber grown in a few of the principal countries of Europe, for the whole of their forests, is as follows: Germany, 15s.; France, 10s.; Switzerland, 13s.; Belgium, 15s. Here again Great Britain is easily last. Austria-Hungary exports more timber than any country in the world, but unluckily the figures for the annual value per acre are not available.

It should be noted, when comparing these figures with those in the previous table, that, although the yield per acre in cubic feet is much less in the United Kingdom, the value of the timber grown compares very favourably with that grown in Europe. This is due to the fact that we grow a higher percentage of hardwoods than is grown abroad. Our oak, ash and beech are the best in the world; and the proportion of larch grown to other trees is a high one, and always commands a good price in the home market. This fact helps to strengthen the case for scientific management, as excellent crops of timber can be grown in this country. It will be necessary, however, to follow the Continental practice and to grow a larger proportion of conifers on our poorer lands.

Having considered the area and the condition of our woodlands, we shall now consider the amount of timber we import to maintain our industries. The United Kingdom buys nearly half the timber exported from all countries; and the prices ruling in the English market affect the markets of the world. The Board of Trade returns for 1911 show that the value of the timber imported into this country amounted to 35,000,000l.; of this amount about 6,500,000l. was paid for wood pulp.

The value of home-grown timber in 1908 was estimated at 800,000*l.* for Great Britain, or, if Ireland is included, at 1,000,000*l.* If this figure holds good for 1911, we are producing in value only one thirty-sixth part of the total timber consumed in this country. The proportion for the following countries is: Germany, 0·75 per cent.; France, 0·75; Italy, 0·66; Belgium, 0·33; Holland, 0·25; Britain, 0·03. Austria, Russia, Sweden and Norway are timber-exporting countries and have a supply in excess of their requirements. Too much stress cannot be laid on these figures, as they go to the root of the question. They show that we depend upon other countries for practically the whole of our timber supply, and that we stand alone among the nations in making little or no attempt to turn our waste lands to useful account by growing timber.

The countries on which we depend for our supply of coniferous or structural timber are Russia, Sweden, the United States, Canada, Norway, France and Germany. Russia contributes about one-third of our total imports, and Russia and Sweden together supply one-half. The United States and Canada together supply two-sevenths; Norway supplies about one-twelfth; France sends us large quantities of pitprops. Of the hardwoods, Austria-Hungary supplies us with oak; India, Siam and Java with teak; French West Africa, Nigeria, Cuba and British Honduras with mahogany.

Before considering the forest resources of the above-mentioned countries it is necessary to give a brief description of what is meant by the timber of commerce. Timber is classified into two broad divisions—soft-woods and hardwoods. The former are practically all conifers—the pines (red or yellow deal), the spruces and firs (white deal) and the larches. The timber is comparatively light, strong and easy to work and is extensively used by all trades and generally for building purposes. Coniferous timber is imported as logs, deals (thick planks) and boards, and is cut or sawn from the trunks of selected trees with good clean boles, as free from knots as possible. Pitprops are cut from stunted and knotted trees or from the tops of the trees from which the logs have been cut. Wood pulp is made from small trees of from four to eight inches diameter, and is largely used for the manufacture of the cheaper papers.

Many of the hardwoods that are imported do not grow in this country, oak being the chief exception, but even then the foreign oak is supposed to be easier to work than the home-grown wood, although not so strong. The hardwoods are utilised for special purposes, such as veneering, panelling, flooring, furniture and wood turnery; they are heavier and more difficult to work, and in consequence are only utilised to a limited extent.

For the sake of convenience our annual imports may be classified as follows (the figures are taken from the Board of Trade returns for 1911):

	Value £
Class I. Conifers either in logs or as sawn, planed or dressed lumber	18,000,000
„ II. Conifers as pitprops and pit wood	3,500,000
„ III. Conifers as wood pulp	6,750,000
„ IV. Hardwoods. Oak hewn	1,250,000
„ V. Manufactured woodware. House frames, furniture, turnery	2,500,000
„ VI. Hardwoods. Teak, veneers, and special furniture wood	3,000,000
	<hr/> 35,000,000

Broadly speaking, the first four classes are derived from species similar to those growing in this country. The fifth class is composed of both conifers and hardwoods; the sixth class of foreign woods. The value of our timber imports has doubled in the last twenty years. In reviewing the forest resources from which our timber supply is obtained, it will be necessary to remember that we are concerned principally with the coniferous timber and not with the hardwoods.

Russia is now our main source of supply, and is sending us more timber than any other country, besides supplying Germany and France with an appreciable portion of their imports. So far back as 1865, Russia supplied us with timber to the value of 1,000,000*l.* per annum; between the years 1891 and 1901 her exports to this country were stationary and amounted to about 5,500,000*l.* Since 1901 the value has doubled, and in 1911 amounted to 11,000,000*l.* These figures are most important, and show clearly that, should Russia's supply fail, our industries would be crippled for want of timber. As time goes on, her forests will become of even greater impor-

tance, and it is essential that we should make a close study of their further development. Russia is credited with a forest area of 800 million acres; but, until more trustworthy data are forthcoming, we can only form a rough approximation of how much of this vast area is genuine productive forest, as allowance must be made for swamps, barren lands, and the high latitude of the northern regions. With our present knowledge we may, however, assume with safety that in European Russia and Finland there are 350,000,000 acres of forest and in Asiatic Russia 200,000,000. These two divisions will be considered separately.

European Russia.—It is a very fortunate circumstance that two-thirds of the forest area are situated in the five northern provinces, and are consequently more accessible to this country than they would be if otherwise distributed. Besides the above, there are two other very favourable factors. It is estimated that 88 per cent. of the forest trees are conifers. The quality of the timber is good, and the larch, Scotch pine, spruce, and silver fir find a ready sale in this country. The other factor is that nearly 70 per cent. of the forest area is the property of the State. The problem of scientific management is simplified, as it is in the interest of the State to control the cut so as not to exceed the annual growth, and thus to secure to the country a permanent supply of timber. In the case of private ownership, there is always a danger of the forests being overcut to obtain quick returns, unless the State exercises some form of effective control. The United States is an example of the destruction of magnificent natural forests by private enterprise uncontrolled by the State.

Mr Raphael Zon (Bulletin 83, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture) states that the annual cut in the Russian State forests is only 5·15 cubic feet per acre, while in the private forests it is as high as 37 cubic feet per acre. He estimates the average cut at 17 cubic feet, and the average growth at 31 cubic feet per acre for the whole of European Russia. Both figures appear to be too high. According to an article in the 'Quarterly Journal of Forestry,' April 1911, by Mr L. S. Wood, from sample measurements actually taken by him over an area of 300,000 acres in the Province of Perm, the average annual growth of merchant-

able timber does not appear to exceed 20 cubic feet per acre. The Province of Perm lies between the 55th and 60th degree of North Latitude, and may be regarded as more favourably situated than the great bulk of the Russian forests; and yet the average diameter for spruce was only 11·9 inches in 122 years' growth. Assuming the most favourable figures, it would appear that Russia is cutting at least half the annual growth of her forests.

The export trade only accounts for about one-sixteenth of the total cut, as the local consumption is enormous. The question of the duration of the forest resources largely depends upon the future development of the country and the increase of the population. The population of European Russia in 1909 was about 130,000,000, and is increasing at the rate of over 2,250,000 a year; in fifty years' time it should have doubled itself. It is therefore safe to predict that long before the fifty years are over, the cut will have exceeded the annual growth and the exports of timber will have begun to decline. Taking all these facts into account, it is a question whether Russia will be able to increase her timber exports to any great extent; and in another fifty years' time it is doubtful if she will be able to maintain them at their present high figure.

Siberia.—Siberia has been counted upon, by many, as a future source of supply; but, when all the facts are carefully considered, it is doubtful if Europe will secure much of her surplus timber. The Siberian forests are believed to cover an enormous area, but from the data available it is probable that the true forest area does not exceed that of Canada, viz. 200,000,000 acres. For the export of timber on a large scale it is essential to have waterways, supplemented by railways where necessary; and, as all the great rivers empty into the Arctic Ocean, excepting the Amur, which flows into the Pacific, and are, in consequence, inaccessible to ocean-going ships, the export of logs must be a question of great difficulty and expense, and the shortest and easiest routes will have to be followed, which for the most part lead eastwards, and not westwards towards Europe. Vast areas of Siberia are also treeless, and enormous quantities of timber will be required in the development of the country. There are, however, some favourable factors;

the limit of tree growth extends further north than in Canada, and it is probable that merchantable timber will be found as far north as the 65th degree of North Latitude. As in most northerly countries, the proportion of coniferous timber is high, and amounts to 70 per cent. The State owns practically all the forests. After taking all considerations into account, it seems likely that Siberia cannot be counted upon as a reserve for Europe, but rather as a reserve for China, Japan, and Australia, and possibly for Russia herself.

Sweden.—Nearly half the area of Sweden, or about 48,000,000 acres, is classified as forest land. A deduction must be made for lakes, swamps and barren lands—roughly 30 per cent., which leaves 32,000,000 acres as the area of productive forest. The Swedish forests are very valuable, as they contain a very high proportion of coniferous timber—nearly 80 per cent.

Sweden for many years exported more timber than any other country except Austria-Hungary. Now Russia has caught up Austria, and Sweden occupies third place. The Swedish exports of structural timber have remained stationary for the last twelve years, a clear indication that her maximum output has been reached; but her export of pulpwood is increasing. The exports to Great Britain for 1911 were as follows:—structural timber, 3,000,000L.; pitprops, 500,000L.; wood pulp, 3,500,000L. These figures indicate very clearly that Sweden has reached an advanced stage in the development of her woodwork industries. In central and southern Sweden the wastage has been reduced to 5 per cent., but it is still high in the north, where transport and other conditions are less favourable. The quality of the timber is not so good, and the percentage of smaller trees cut is much higher than was formerly the case. The annual growth is estimated at 25 cubic feet per acre and the cut about the same. Scientific forestry is being practised in Sweden; and, as nearly half the forests are State-owned or under State supervision, we may count on Sweden maintaining her present output, but we cannot count on an expansion in the future.

Norway.—Norway has overcut her forests in the past. The accessibility to the western coast, with its sheltered fjords, has caused a heavy drain in that region. One-

fifth of the country is occupied by forests, and nearly three-fourths is barren land. The forest area is estimated at 16,000,000 acres, of which nearly 70 per cent. are privately owned. The average annual cut for the whole area is estimated at 20 cubic feet per acre, and the annual growth is probably below this figure. In 1911 Norway exported to this country about 1,250,000*l.* worth of structural timber, and about 1,500,000*l.* worth of pulpwood—a sure indication that smaller trees are being cut. The export of logs has also decreased—another sign that her raw material is being husbanded and is being manufactured or partly manufactured at home. It is interesting to note that timber grows further north in Norway than in any other country in Europe. Scotch pine is found beyond the Arctic Circle, as far as the 70th degree of North Latitude; spruce grows more in the south and centre. Both species take as much as 150 years to reach maturity. From the above it may be inferred that we should count upon a diminution of structural timber from Norway in the future, but we may count upon an increased amount of pulpwood.

United States.—In the quality and variety of their timber trees the primeval forests of the United States were unsurpassed by any other country in the world. These original forests have been reduced in area from approximately 850,000,000 acres to about 550,000,000 acres, which may be classified as follows:—(i) original forest, 200,000,000 acres; (ii) forest partly cut or burnt over with young natural growth, 250,000,000 acres; (iii) forest cut and burnt over and lacking in young growth, 100,000,000 acres.

No country in the world utilises so much timber as the United States, and no country wastes so much. The annual cut is estimated at 20,000,000,000 cubic feet; and of this huge cut it is stated that nearly half is wasted in logging and in manufacture. The 'forest capital' of the country is being steadily drawn upon, and the consumption is three times the growth. The average annual growth for the whole of the forest area is estimated at 12 cubic feet and the cut at 36 cubic feet per acre. The data available, to form an accurate forecast of the duration of the timber resources, are not sufficient; but American experts acknowledge that the country will

have to pass through a period of shortage before the forests can grow again, and, to avoid a scarcity, it will be necessary to act at once and with vigour. Canada is practically the only country the United States can count upon for supplies; but, as will be shown when reviewing Canadian resources, the needs of her growing population will have to be satisfied, and she will eventually utilise the whole of her own supply.

The imports of timber into the United States have trebled in the last ten years, and now amount in value to about 10,000,000*l.*, of which two-thirds come from Canada. Their exports in the last five years have remained nearly stationary and amount to about 14,000,000*l.* Of that sum, this country, in 1911, took about 4,500,000*l.* worth, mostly hardwoods and woodware, whilst South America, China, the Philippines and Australia were the principal purchasers of structural timber. In the near future it is probable that the United States will cease to export coniferous timber and will compete with this country, to an increased extent, for surplus supplies from Canada and elsewhere. They will no doubt, in the future, exercise an enormous influence on the world's timber market by raising prices everywhere far beyond their present level. There are signs that the country is being aroused to the necessity of taking immediate action, and a highly trained staff of forest officers has been appointed to administer the public forests.

Canada.—Not many years ago it was believed that the Canadian forests were practically inexhaustible, and that merchantable timber would be found as far north as in Europe. It has now been ascertained that in Eastern Canada the forest belt does not extend much beyond the 50th degree of North Latitude, excepting in favoured localities such as valley bottoms and other sheltered places. In the prairie lands of Middle Canada there are no large natural forests, but a limited amount of timber is to be found in the valley bottoms as far north as the 60th degree of North Latitude. It is only as the Pacific coast is approached that, owing to the influence of the warm sea-currents, we find magnificent forests and tree growth extending to the Arctic Circle as in Europe. A recent estimate, from an authoritative source, reduces the area of merchantable timber to 180,000,000 acres.

The Canadian forests contain a large number of species, a high proportion of which supply merchantable timber and consist of conifers. The cut over the whole area is estimated at 17 cubic feet per acre, and the growth of merchantable timber at about 20 cubic feet. If allowance is made for the vast areas which are annually destroyed by fire, it is probable that the amount cut is not far short of the annual growth or increment. Unfortunately the exports are increasing rapidly, and it is almost certain that the country will before long trench upon her forest capital to supply the shortage elsewhere. She has for a great many years exported timber to this country; and, so far back as 1858, her exports amounted in value to 1,500,000*l*. In 1888 they had risen to nearly 4,000,000*l*., and in 1911 to nearly 9,000,000*l*., of which we received, in round figures, 3,250,000*l*. worth of structural timber, and 250,000*l*. of hardwoods. Canada still supplies us with more structural timber than any other country, Russia excepted. Her population is under 8,000,000; but, should it increase as rapidly as is generally anticipated, the amount of coniferous timber available for export will be curtailed. The one favourable factor is that, unlike the United States, nearly all the forest area is State property. With the opening of the Panama Canal we shall no doubt, for some years to come, receive large quantities of Douglas fir, a species which has been introduced into this country as a forest tree, and promises exceedingly well; but British-Columbian timber will be in great demand in China, Australia, the United States and South America, and we cannot count upon receiving a permanent supply from this source.

Newfoundland, it is believed, has vast forest areas, but so much of the country has been burnt over that the timber appears small and more suitable for pulpwood than for structural purposes. Newfoundland exports very little structural timber, but in the last few years large areas have been purchased for the manufacture of pulpwood and paper. No forest organisation exists at the present time.

We have so far considered the principal exporting countries with natural forests, which rely on natural regeneration for subsequent crops. We shall now review

the forest conditions of Germany and France, where scientific methods have been introduced to assist nature in the work of afforestation.

Germany.—The forest area in Germany is being added to every year, and amounts to over 35,000,000 acres, about one-quarter of the total land area in the country. It is interesting to note that the State has actually determined the amount of waste land that remains to be afforested, which amounts to 1,500,000 acres, an addition of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the existing forest area. In addition to planting waste lands, a gradual conversion of some of the hardwood forests to conifers is taking place. The conifers occupy 69 per cent. of the total forest area. The ownership of the forests is thus distributed: those belonging to the State represent 32 per cent. of the whole; those belonging to the Crown, 2 per cent.; to corporations, 16 per cent.; to institutions, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; to private persons, $46\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The State forests yield the highest percentage of timber. The average annual cut is regulated so as not to exceed the average growth, which is estimated at 50 cubic feet for the whole of the forest area. It is impossible to say to what figure the average growth may ultimately attain, but the following statistics may afford some indication. The yield for the State forests of Wurtemberg in 1901 was 60 cubic feet per acre for hardwoods, and 97 cubic feet for conifers. The yield for the State forests of Saxony in 1909 averaged 70 cubic feet per acre. Spruce occupied 60 per cent. of the total area.

Although one-quarter of Germany is afforested, so great is the demand for wood that the country is unable to meet its own requirements. In the twelve years from 1899 to 1910, the imports remained nearly stationary and averaged 12,500,000*l.* in value; the exports for the same period averaged 3,500,000*l.*, which gives 9,000,000*l.* as the net value of the timber imported. Our imports from Germany are principally manufactured woodware and wood pulp and amount to nearly 1,500,000*l.* It is difficult to understand why Germany, with so large a forest area, is unable to supply her own requirements. The only answer would appear to be that wood is more generally utilised by countries with large supplies than those with small ones. Germany, with a popu-

lation of 65 millions, utilises nearly 20 cubic feet per head, whereas in this country we utilise only about 12 cubic feet per head.

Dr B. E. Fernow makes a very interesting statement regarding the history of afforestation in Germany. In 1800 the country was passing through an acute stage of wood famine owing to the destruction and wastage of the natural sources of supply. There followed a vigorous policy of scientific afforestation; and, in little more than a hundred years' time, the country has succeeded in supplying nearly the whole of its requirements.

France.—Much work remains to be done before the French forests will yield a high return. The conditions resemble those of this country, and large areas still remain as coppice; the process of conversion to high forest is proceeding slowly. The forest area amounts to 24,000,000 acres, of which 20 per cent. are conifers and 80 per cent. hardwoods. The State continues to plant considerable areas of waste land annually. The forests are owned as follows: State forests represent 12 per cent. of the whole; communal, 23 per cent.; private, 65 per cent. The annual cut is 40 cubic feet per acre, and the growth is equal to the cut. The principal exports are pitprops, of which this country receives very large quantities. France exports about 2,000,000*l.* worth of pitprops and woodware annually, and imports about 7,000,000*l.* worth of structural timber.

Austria-Hungary, with Bosnia and Herzegovina, has a forest area of nearly 53,000,000 acres. About half the woods are conifers, and half hardwoods. We cannot count on Austria for structural timber, as she sends her surplus to Germany and the Mediterranean, but she supplies us with large quantities of oak timber. Her exports for the last ten years have remained stationary and amount to about 13,500,000*l.*, while her imports show a tendency to increase and amount to about 1,000,000*l.* The average annual growth is estimated at 42 cubic feet and the annual cut at 50 cubic feet per acre. It may be assumed from these facts that Austria cannot increase her exports without drawing upon her forest capital; but, as forestry is practised throughout the country and private forests are under State supervision, it may be

inferred that the present exports will be permanently maintained.

We have considered the countries on which Great Britain depends for her supply of timber, and will now review the other timber-producing countries.

Japan.—Here forestry has been practised as a science for many generations, and all the forests are under State supervision. The forests are owned as follows: State forests represent 29,250,000 acres; Crown forests, 5,000,000 acres; public forests, 6,250,000 acres; shrine forests, 250,000 acres; private forests, 14,250,000 acres; total, 55,000,000 acres.

It is interesting to note that the Japanese have a 'forest sharing' system on nearly 200,000 acres. Private individuals are allowed to plant on State lands, and the income derived is shared between the State and the planters. The converse of this system is also practised; the State may declare private property a 'Government Forest Reserve.' The reserves so declared are divided into two classes: (1) those in which cutting is not allowed at all and the owners are compensated by the State; (2) those in which some cutting is allowed and no compensation is paid. Planting is done on a large scale, and considerable sums are expended annually on planting model forests and for distributing seeds and seedlings to individuals. About 30 per cent. of the forests are conifers. The consumption of wood is very high, and amounts to about 60 cubic feet per capita. The exports are valued at about 2,000,000*l.*, and it is certain that any surplus available for export will be absorbed by China. Formosa is rich in forests; but, as it is within the tropics, cypress, spruce and other conifers are only found at high altitudes, and the supply is probably limited and difficult of access.

China.—China has no forestry organisation and no forestry laws of any description. Her magnificent forests of conifers are being steadily depleted, and how to ensure, in the future, a supply of timber for her local industries, must be a question of serious concern to her statesmen. Manchuria is well wooded, especially along the Talu and Amur rivers, where enormous forests of pine, elm, oak, ash, cedar, and fir are to be found. A great number of concessions have been granted and these

are now being extensively worked. In the Southern provinces, especially Kuei-Chow, Yun-nan, and Fukien, there are fine natural forests, and large quantities of timber are floated down the Yangtze River; but these forests are being overcut, and the timber supply is disappearing very rapidly.

British India.—Before passing on to Australia, mention must be made of the splendid results already obtained by the Indian Forest Department. One-quarter of the land area is being maintained as forest land, and, under the present scientific management, nearly all the timber utilised is produced locally. A small amount of coniferous timber only is imported, but the quantity is decreasing; what is of still greater importance is that a permanent supply is now ensured, and India need have no anxiety for her future supply of raw material, although the difficulty of ensuring an adequate supply of coniferous timber in a tropical country like India must be very great. It may be accepted that India will provide for her own requirements in the future. At present we are receiving annually nearly 1,000,000*l.* worth of teak from India, Siam and Java, of which India supplies about two-thirds.

East Indies.—The East Indies are rich in teak and other tropical woods. Teak, at present, appears to be the only timber exported in any quantity. Sufficient data are not available to form an accurate estimate, but it may be inferred that, although there are vast supplies of teak and other tropical woods, the supply of structural timber is limited.

Australia.—It is impossible to form an accurate estimate of the forest resources of Australia, owing to a lack of detailed information. The so-called forest area amounts to a hundred million acres, the most valuable portion being situated near the coast. The trees are very different in character from those in Europe and grow in a more open manner, while large areas are covered with scrub. The proportion of structural timber to other varieties is very low. From statistics recently published for Western Australia, the quantity of standing timber of commercial value, on the 20,000,000 acres of forest land, was estimated at only 150 cubic feet per acre.

Australia is the home of the eucalyptus and wattle;

species of the former, such as the Jarrah and the Karri, furnish valuable wood, which is extensively used for structural purposes and to some degree for export. The exports amount in value to nearly 1,000,000*l.* annually, and the imports of coniferous or structural timber to about 2,000,000*l.*, of which Russia, Sweden and North America supply the principal portion. Increased attention is being paid to forestry; some of the Provinces have set aside large areas as timber reserves; and experimental planting is being undertaken. Australia is deficient in structural timber, and it may be inferred that she will increase her imports in the future.

New Zealand.—New Zealand has magnificent forests, and there is no pine superior to the 'Kauri'; but this species unfortunately is confined to one district, is very inflammable, and takes from 600 to 3600 years to attain its full size. There are other pines of great value, but all are of slow growth. Small quantities of 'Kauri' pine are exported to this country annually.

The forest area of New Zealand is being rapidly reduced, and probably no more than 12,000,000 acres of natural forest remain. In the last ten years the annual cut has doubled, and the forest capital is dwindling at an alarming rate. The problem, however, is being faced in a systematic manner. As the native trees take too long to mature, exotics have been introduced and are found to grow four to ten times as rapidly as the native varieties. Over 15,000 acres have been afforested, and forestry in New Zealand promises to develop into an important and permanent industry. The country will probably be able to supply its own wants and perhaps to assist Australia to a limited extent.

North Africa.—Algeria has about 2,000,000 acres of conifers and 1,000,000 of cork woods. Tunis has about half this amount. In former times the Atlas Mountains were well wooded, but the Arabs have destroyed the woods by burning them to extend their grazing grounds. The beautiful *Cedrus Atlantica* has almost disappeared. The French North African possessions will have to import timber for many years to come. Egypt has no forests and imports large quantities of structural timber from Austria-Hungary.

East Africa.—The British Sudan and Abyssinia possess

cedar forests of some value, but they are most inaccessible, and very little is known about them. The former imports structural timber from Austria. East Africa has about two million acres of highland forest containing cedar and other structural timber. A forest department has been organised which should prove of inestimable value to this young colony. Uganda has some extensive forests, but the proportion of structural timber to other varieties is unknown. It is unlikely that East Africa and Uganda will ever become timber-exporting countries, but they should in time be able to supply their own wants.

South Africa.—The forest area in British South Africa is a limited one, and consists in Cape Colony and Natal of a narrow strip near the coast with a small amount of timber in the kloofs of the mountain ranges. In the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal there is practically no structural timber of value. The local timber is chiefly used in the construction of wagons and carts, in making furniture and in railway construction. Eucalyptus and wattle have been planted in the Transvaal to a certain extent to supply the mines with pitprops. The total forest area, south of the Zambesi, excluding Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa, amounts to 640,000 acres, almost all of which is situated in the Cape Colony, which has its own forest service and has begun afforestation on over 25,000 acres of land. During the last five years the timber imported into South Africa has gone up from 500,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* in value. As the population increases, so the timber imports will increase, and South Africa will be a large consumer of structural timber in the future.

Madagascar.—The forests of Madagascar are little known, but are estimated to cover an area of 25,000,000 acres, and may at some future period prove a valuable source of supply for South Africa, should they contain a fair proportion of timber suitable for structural purposes. In 1911 the imports of structural timber amounted to 14,000*l.* and the timber exported to 6,000*l.*, including a trial shipment of railway sleepers to South Africa.

West Africa.—The exports of timber from French West Africa to this country have been steadily increasing and in 1911 amounted in value to nearly 250,000*l.*, but consist of hardwoods and mahogany, which can only be

utilised for special purposes. The exports of special woods from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Nigeria to this country amount to over 250,000*l.* annually.

No definitive information exists about the tropical forests of Central Africa beyond the fact that they are rich in hardwoods, of value for special purposes.

Mexico and Central America.—A company has been recently started to exploit the pine and fir forests of Mexico, which hitherto have been inaccessible; and an area of about 2,500,000 acres has been taken up. Up to the present, Mexico has been importing timber in considerable quantities, and it is doubtful if in the future she will be able to produce more timber than is necessary for her own requirements. Central America possesses considerable forest areas which hitherto have been inaccessible except near the coast; but the timber is chiefly mahogany, and the ordinary structural timber has to be imported. British Honduras has for many years exported mahogany and logwood to this country.

South America.—South America has vast virgin forests, but, owing to the smallness of the population and the difficulty of transport, very little timber is exported. Until forest surveys have been carried out, it will be impossible to estimate the resources of this continent. It is known, however, that the Andes Mountains are well wooded; and the timber resources are ample to meet all local demands, which at present are partly supplied by imported timber.

Paraguay is particularly rich in forests, but the proportion of structural timber to other sorts is unknown. The forests of Brazil exceed in area those of European Russia and contain many valuable species, including some suitable for structural purposes. The Amazon flows through the centre of this forest area, and with its numerous tributaries affords excellent water communication for the transport of logs. It may be inferred that, although the supply of hardwoods is practically inexhaustible, the supply of suitable structural timber is not likely to be abundant, owing to the tropical climate. In British, Dutch and French Guiana the same conditions prevail. There are large forest areas with numerous waterways; but the wood exported, although intrinsically of great value, is only utilised for special

purposes, such as greenheart for docks and harbour construction, purpleheart for wheelwrights, and violet-wood for turnery.

West Indies.—Cuba contains 6,000,000 acres of forest area. Unfortunately the forests do not contain much structural timber, but varieties utilised for special purposes; in consequence, large quantities of structural timber are imported. Under good forest management, Cuba should, however, be able to meet its own requirements. The same may be said of Jamaica, San Domingo and the smaller islands. The forests have been robbed in the past; their present resources are inadequate for their needs, and imports exceed exports in value. If scientific forestry is introduced, these islands should be able to supply their own requirements in the future.

Having considered the world's supply of coniferous timber, we cannot help coming to the following conclusions, which will have to be faced sooner or later.

(1) Russia has become our main source of supply, and is the only important reserve left to draw upon. The United States as an exporter of timber is becoming exhausted, and is diverting Canadian timber from this country to her markets. Norway and Sweden are maintaining their exports, but are unable to increase these to any appreciable extent, without overcutting and injuring their forests; in fact, the Norwegian forests have already been overcut.

(2) From the data available, it is impossible to make an accurate estimate of Russia's resources, but it may be inferred that her forests, including Finland and Siberia, are capable of supplying the rising demand for a few years longer, when it is thought that she will have reached her maximum output, beyond which she cannot go with safety.

(3) The only forest reserves of coniferous timber as yet untouched are in regions difficult of access, in Siberia, British Columbia and the Andes. It is believed that these will be largely required for local consumption and will not be exported to Europe in any quantity.

(4) The supply of hardwoods is adequate to meet future requirements, as the demand for heavy and hard timber is a limited one; and for economic reasons they

cannot be taken into general use to replace the conifers and softer woods.

Our position is serious, but it is not yet hopeless, and we have the example and experience of other countries to guide us. The great industrial nations of Europe have faced the situation and are increasing their forests by planting all land unsuited for agriculture. It would be difficult to find a country better adapted for growing timber than the United Kingdom. Forestry has been so neglected, and scientific methods so little understood in the past, that we have been led to believe that our waste lands cannot be made to grow suitable timber in a profitable manner. It is true that, owing to past neglect, it will take years of patient industry to bring the soil back to forest conditions; but this can be accomplished by selecting suitable species and by scientific management. Time is the important factor, and any further postponement on our part may result in a shortage long before we are ready to meet it. It is now nearly forty years since public attention was drawn, by numerous reports and by various Committees appointed to investigate the question, to the rapid destruction of the natural forests of the world. In the meantime the destruction has gone on with increasing rapidity, and the work of afforestation, so far as this country is concerned, cannot with truth be said to have commenced.

We may now consider the steps that have been taken to give effect to the recommendations of the numerous Committees, and the organisation which has been evolved to carry out the work of afforestation. We have adopted the course followed by the United States, and placed Forestry under the Board of Agriculture, but we do not appear as yet to have created a distinct department under the Board for dealing with the subject, and have merely tacked Forestry on to its other duties. There are now separate Boards of Agriculture for England, Scotland and Ireland; and it is assumed that each Board will deal with Forestry in its own area. At present all proposals involving expenditure are submitted to the Development Commissioners, who have approved of grants being made to the nine educational centres where Forestry is being taught. These are the Universities of

Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen for Scotland, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the Colleges of Bangor, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Cirencester for England, and the Royal College of Science, Dublin, for Ireland. The Commissioners are also prepared to recommend grants for the purchase of three Forest Demonstration Areas, in Scotland, in England and in Ireland respectively. Further mention is made of a Forest Survey for the United Kingdom. The Commissioners estimate that 350,000*l.* will probably cover all the expenditure that can profitably be incurred on Forestry up to 1916.

From the above it will be seen that ample provision has been made for Forestry education, and that, when the necessary demonstration-areas have been acquired, it will be possible to provide practical as well as theoretical instruction. It should be made clear that the demonstration-areas are for educational purposes and are not intended to demonstrate that good timber can be grown in this country; we have ample proof of this fact on a number of private estates where scientific forestry has been practised in the past. It is obvious that the work of National Afforestation cannot wait until the demonstration-areas have grown a crop of timber trees. Time is such an important factor that a comprehensive scheme of afforestation for suitable portions of the 16,000,000 acres of mountainous and heath land should be prepared without loss of time. We venture to outline broadly the lines on which the work might be taken up.

To take organisation first—a separate Department under the Board of Agriculture to deal with afforestation is essential; until this step is taken little progress is likely to be made. This Department should take over the Crown Woodlands and all Crown lands suitable for afforestation. Assistance should be given to Corporations to plant up all water-catchment areas, under the supervision, and subject to the inspection, of the Forestry Department. In the same manner all woods of 100 acres and upwards, belonging to churches, colleges, hospitals, and universities should be assisted and placed under the supervision and inspection of the Department.

The next important consideration is how to assist landowners to afforest their woodlands and waste lands.

A forest survey should be made by the Forest Department of all uncultivated land, with a view to locate blocks of 1000 acres and upwards suitable for afforestation. These areas having been ascertained, it will be necessary to come to some arrangement with the owners. Practically all the waste lands are in private hands; and, if a national scheme is to be carried out rapidly, it is essential to secure the co-operation and goodwill of the owners. It is believed that a system of 'Forest Sharing' might be instituted, by which the State would plant and maintain the forests and the profits would be shared by the State and the landowners. In other cases, where owners desire to sell, fair prices should be offered, while those who preferred to keep the planting and management in their own hands would be free to do so. In cases where owners require assistance, this should be given either by advice or by loans; in the latter case State supervision would be essential, if the future crop is to be accepted as security for the repayment of the loan. In cases where pecuniary assistance has been given, the State should reserve the right of purchase should the owner desire to sell at any future time.

The advantages to be derived from a 'Forest Sharing' system are of such importance that they deserve most careful consideration. The goodwill and assistance of landowners would be assured; while the loss of valuable time in negotiating the purchase of suitable areas would be obviated. 'Forest Sharing' is no new idea; it is practised in Germany, Sweden, Italy and Japan, and might assist very materially in solving the question of afforestation in this country.

If these proposals, as outlined, are followed, the cost is not likely to be as great as is generally supposed; and we may reasonably hope to produce from one-third to one-half of our requirements. The principle by which both State and landowner work together should enable the capital expenditure to be reduced by one-half. In order that the expenditure may press less heavily, it should be spread over as many years as possible. Planting should be on a graduated scale, beginning with, say, 5000 acres a year, this amount being increased by 10,000 acres at five year intervals. At the end of sixty years we should have 3,600,000 acres for an expenditure

of 25,000,000*l.* spread over that period. From this date forward no further capital will be required, as the profits will be sufficient to continue the work of planting, which should be carried on until at least 5,000,000 acres are afforested. In order to arrive at an accurate estimate of the return on the capital expended, it is necessary to add interest to the amount expended each year. Similar calculations have been frequently worked out, and it is generally acknowledged that a return of at least 3½ per cent. may be expected on the total accumulated cost of the undertaking. These figures are given to show that the nation can afforest without pecuniary loss, but the real benefits which will be derived from a national scheme of afforestation are not so much pecuniary as economic and social.

The future supply of raw material for our economic development is threatened. Sir W. Schlich ('Journal of the Society of Arts,' March 1, 1901) states that 'the consumption of timber in Britain has, during the last twenty years, increased at more than twice the rate of the population.' Timber is in greater demand than ever, and natural sources of supply are being exhausted to meet this demand. Finally, a nation with so dense a population as ours can surely ill afford to leave so much land in an unproductive state. Next to the economic is the social benefit. There is no healthier employment than that of a woodman; and an addition of 100,000 woodmen to our rural population would in itself be a national asset of inestimable value. It may be assumed that each forester and woodman would be given a cottage and a few acres of land to cultivate, and would therefore become a small holder, who would find employment in the forest in winter and on his holding in summer.

The fact that a definite scheme of afforestation had been launched under a Forestry Department would do much to stimulate the desire for Forestry Education, and would satisfy the country that an important step had been taken towards securing a permanent supply of raw material for our industries by the utilisation of our waste lands and by the improvement of our woodlands generally. The necessity for immediate action cannot be too strongly urged.

H. G. JOLY DE LOTBINIÈRE.

Art. 8.—LADY SHELLEY AND HER ACQUAINTANCE.

1. *The Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley, 1787–1873.* Two vols. Edited by Richard Edgcumbe. London: Murray, 1912–13.
2. *Correspondence of Lord Burghersh, 1808–1840.* Edited by his grand-daughter, Rachel Weigall. London: Murray, 1912.

'C'EST toujours le beau monde qui gouverne le monde,' says the defiant epigram against which generations of social reformers, eager to establish society upon some less capricious basis, have tilted with very indifferent success. Even Napoleon, the strongest of all the foes of privilege, excepted 'le beau monde' from his ban, strove unsuccessfully to recall it from exile and, in the end, manufactured it, rather clumsily, afresh. And though, in view of certain plutocratic and other developments of the present day, 'le beau monde' has become a more controversial expression than it was, History, at least, has as yet little cause or encouragement to lose sight of the aphorism. The study of that singular society, whose smiles and favours are constantly reckoned the last reward of ambition, and in whose code of custom the practical conclusions of each successive *Zeitgeist* are so plainly to be read, can indeed never be a matter of small consequence to the conscientious historian. But, in fact, the wishes of his clients force him to the work. It is the fortunate, the privileged, the successful, of whom living men and women care to read. About the others, even if we could learn more of them than is generally the case, there is little solicitude. They are entombed together, like corpses in a plague-stricken city, with a collective epitaph, if so much, to indicate the manner of their existence, and perhaps some cheerless hope that a passing statistician may some day stop to count their bones. Among the shades, at least, 'le beau monde' carries all before it. What has Michelet's passionate sympathy for the dim, neglected multitudes produced but the most brilliant, the most alluring description of that sensuous court of France against which he sets his face? There is no charm so insidious as the fascination of the great world.

The spectacle of this gay and sumptuous society,

commanding the best labour and directing the choicest effort of the community, offers, as indeed the smartness of the epigram suggests, a sufficiently engaging problem in political anatomy, and one which has lost nothing of its cogency since the time when Menenius Agrippa first attempted to deal with it twenty-four centuries ago. Something, no doubt, must be allowed for the magic of great names; something, too, for the blessedness of possession. And, as we are mostly in some sense artists, the existence of a world, however remote, where life, liberated from the stifling pressure of circumstance, may be brought to a perfection of grace, and where men and women may actually shape their habits in accordance with new forms and opportunities of beauty as these arise, may be esteemed a kind of artistic necessity, in which the least fortunate among us often find a singularly generous and large-hearted satisfaction. But if this were all, if these constituted the strong foundations of the Armida Palace, the whole dizzy structure would fall to pieces like a house of cards; as, indeed, has already happened on one memorable occasion. Only as we come to appreciate the moral value of mere execution, of the manner in which things are done, does the contemplation of the costly fabric, with its elaborate decoration, become really convincing to our sense of right. Stripped of all its freaks and follies, rescued from all its fantastic and whimsical adherents—the Euphuists of one age, the Fops of another, the Souls of a third—‘le beau monde’ is at its best an attempt to get things rightly done, with the dignity and conscience and finish which they deserve, and which is so commonly overlooked in the pursuit of quick returns. And, in a world of shifting and uncertain purpose, it is not too much to say that the means employed are often of more considerable consequence than the end attained, the tone and temper of effort more really important than the thing accomplished.

We can recognise the presence of this nameless grace, this *je ne sais quoi*, where the orbit of the fine arts has crossed that of the great world—in the brush of Titian, perhaps, or the music of Handel, in the eloquence of the great French preachers or the prose of the 18th century or the architectural splendours of Versailles, as well as in the work of the court painters, before a Vandyck or

a Watteau. Yet this is not the sphere of its choice. Only in the field of action, in war, in politics, in the give-and-take of human intercourse, do we feel its full strength and power, even as, where *savoir-faire* and *savoir-dire* are wanting, we are conscious of an intolerable void, and complain that glory has departed. To the production of this magic touch, this 'tact,' this large discretion, involving the quick comprehension of every character, the easy mastery of every situation, the intrepid handling of every emergency, has all the long travail of the world under the heavy law of evolution been ultimately directed. Not to be weighed in the balance against the distinctively Christian virtues—against faith or love or purity—it is nevertheless the very climax of earthly education and the last end of culture; a true sense, sometimes sternly, sometimes delicately expressed, of order and proportion and propriety in human things. It was the possession of this fine discrimination, rather than more obvious qualities of will and intellect, which seemed to a penetrating eye to be the crowning gift bestowed upon the hero of his time.

'Not only that thy puissant arm could bind
The Tyrant of a world, and, conquering Fate
Enfranchise Europe, do I deem thee great,
But that in all thine actions I do find
Exact propriety : no gusts of mind
Fitful and wild, but that continuous state
Of ordered impulse mariners await
In some benignant and enriching wind,
The breath ordained of Nature.'

So wrote the young Disraeli in the sonnet on the Duke of Wellington, which Mr Edgecumbe has reprinted in the volumes now under consideration. And, indeed, such reflections as have been made are no idle or wayward introduction to the two characters which are the main subject of this article. The Duke of Wellington and Lady Shelley were both of them children of the great world, at least in the sense in which our wise English common-sense has always interpreted the phrase—the one the son of the Lord Mornington who composed what is perhaps the most exquisite chant in the repertory of the English Church; the other the heiress of the Lancashire Winckleys, with a pedigree running back to the England

of the Saxon Kings. In their respective spheres—the separate and unalterable spheres of man and woman—they illustrate, as no description can do, the nature of the subtle quality of which we have been seeking to take the measure; its meaning, its value, and its strength. They may be said to stand between the dead and the living—between the ideals of the *ancien régime*, long since frozen to such mortal coldness, and those of the democratised *beau monde* that now is, or, at least, desires to be. They are as far removed from that exquisitely ludicrous world, of which we catch a final glimpse in the observation of the Duc de Berri, preserved in Lord Burghersh's Correspondence (p. 210), that Wellington could never be a great man because 'il est un parvenu,' as from the exquisitely humorous one which swallows up titles and decorations with an avidity in no way diminished by the growing cheapness and unsuitability of that particular form of sustenance. They belonged neither to the aristocracy of insensate pride, nor yet to the aristocracy of unblushing purchase; and a Platonic philosopher might look far to find better models for the guardians of a new republic.

It is not, however, upon such interior oppositions as these that the dividing line between past and present requires to be laid. Hostile to much that the world is at present disposed to admire, the intuition of the *beau monde*, whether we consult it in the 18th or the 19th century, is most noticeably opposed to that gospel of mere crude efficiency which has come into vogue with Lord Rosebery's importation into England of the strangest of strange gods, with the cult of Napoleon. There is, within the memory of a living witness, a remark of Wellington's calculated to show the cleavage between the old temper and the new. Someone in the Duke's company had been praising the brilliance of Napoleon's qualities. The Duke listened, but his comment, when it came, was as caustic as it was penetrating. With a 'Wasn't a gentleman!' he brushed contemptuously away the value of all the rest. It was this implied regard for the way in which a thing was done as much as for the object actually secured, which distinguished his conduct of the Peninsular War from that of the French Marshals, and at a later date induced him to try, at some sacrifice of political principle, to keep the administration in what

he regarded as safe hands. His opposition to the Reform Bill, his strong belief in the all-importance of officers to the success of an army, will be found in keeping with this vivid appreciation of the value of a gentleman. He was thus in a very real sense the protagonist of the Counter-Revolution, of the *ancien régime* purified in the fires of adversity. And Waterloo, if it is to be had in true remembrance, deserves to be thought of as the victory of ancient honour and justice over that blatant insolence—that *ὕβρις* of the Greeks—of which, as Mr Fisher has lately reminded us, Napoleon became the modern incarnation; just as those young Englishmen, hurrying in their silk stockings and buckled shoes from the Duchess of Richmond's ball to momentous battle, may be held symbolic of that *beau monde* which in the end—so the aphorism assures us—is always victorious.

The recently-published correspondence of Lord Burghersh—although, apart from a letter in which Sir William A'Court, at the time British Minister at Palermo, takes credit to himself for promoting the execution of Murat, it contains little new information—affords a salutary reminder of the opinion of the French Emperor and his associates entertained by English gentlemen who lived under the scourge. 'The beast Napoleon,' 'that monster Murat,' are the expressions of the high-spirited young English soldier and diplomatist who became the husband of the Duke's favourite niece and whose memory this collection of his correspondence will do something to revive. And Wellington himself, depicting in a letter the feeling of southern France towards the Emperor in 1814, affirms that 'it is not easy to describe the detestation of this man.'

It was in that same year, on his return to England, that the Duke became acquainted with Lady Shelley. As the hero of the Peninsular War, he was at once the latest and largest lion of the *beau monde*; and among those who were presented to him was this beautiful wife of an old companion-in-arms. Sir John Shelley was one of the *beaux* of the Regency, something of a musician, a good deal of a rake, and very much of a general favourite. Under the auspices of Lord and Lady Sefton, and in accordance with her own desires, Miss Frances Winckley undertook to effect the reformation of this elderly but

engaging offender. The enterprise was, indeed, only partially successful—for gambling propensities are not easily cured—but the marriage was an eminently happy one. In the background of the book there moves a genial, polished figure, who is so proud of his wife's talents and so confident of her virtue that he urges her forward, against her own taste and judgment, into the brilliant but treacherous society of the European capitals. We owe him therefore more than at first appears; a prudent or suspicious husband would almost certainly have cut short Lady Shelley's observations, even though her character were passing, as it did pass, unscathed through the ordeal. For the rest, Sir John won the Derby twice and was for many years a Member of Parliament; but the most singular of his achievements, and one in all probability without a parallel, was the overthrow, with a dexterous kick and under the pressure of irresistible temptation, of the heir to the Crown, absurdly disposed at the feet of Mrs FitzHerbert—a piece of *lèse-majesté* which was ultimately pardoned for the sake of the unrivalled excellence of his company.

In the charge, then, of this indulgent guardian, Lady Shelley saw the great world. And such a world! We have only to turn over a few pages of the diary to realise what we have lost, not in ability nor in purpose, but in the distinction and the interest which were the product of great events and the grand manner. Of that gorgeous cosmopolitan society, which gathered round the carcass of the Napoleonic Empire, it will be long before we cease to speak. Its characters are like the heroes of the *Iliad*, often vicious and swayed by human passions, but cast nevertheless in the heroic mould and clothed in burnished armour. Already we think of them as men that have been long dead and count them among the immortals. Lady Shelley knew them face to face, some of them intimately—Alexander and Talleyrand and Metternich, Schwarzenberg and Marie Louise and Pius VII, besides such comparatively unimportant English celebrities as Beau Brummell and Sydney Smith and Scott and Peel and Brougham. Here is a portrait of Alexander in 1815:

'If I have been led away by the popular cry in favour of the Emperor of Russia, let me now retract my opinion. . . Reality

and a nearer approach, proves him to be a foolish, good-natured, dancing Dandy. Although he has more good qualities than bad, he is but a weak, vain coxcomb. Personally, he is as brave as a lion, but entirely under petticoat government. His sister, the Grand Duchess, has complete power over him.'

Closer acquaintance a year later in Paris greatly modified this hasty judgment:

'The Emperor of Russia was especially gracious, and talked to me for some time. He asked if I had been "tout à fait contente du spectacle [the review] d'hier?" He did not speak of the religious ceremony at all—he did not wish to hear my opinion on that subject—which I think showed the depth of his religious feeling, and I admired him for that *trait*. I had noticed him during the ceremony very closely. His attitude bore the appearance of a real devotedness and the humility of an earnest Christian. I may here mention that during my stay in France, I had good reason to alter the bad opinion I had entertained of his Majesty in England' (i, 157).

We may as well glance at another royal personage before we pass on to more common clay. In February 1817, Lady Shelley visited Parma and dined with Marie-Louise. She found an opportunity of speaking to the Empress of the caged Eaglet, whom she had lately seen at Vienna.

'When I told her how interesting he was, and how fond everybody in Vienna was of him, her eyes filled with tears. She said: "Oui, ma seule consolation, c'est, que je crois qu'on l'aime beaucoup. Il y a dix mois que je ne l'ai vu. Il s'est beaucoup amusé à danser"' (i, 383).

For Talleyrand himself Lady Shelley has no good word to say:

'I never saw so diabolical a countenance. He has no very marked feature, is pale, has a crafty expression and a most villainous mouth. His fiendish laugh still haunts me' (i, 121).

But she declares that, all the same, the ladies found his company irresistible, and records with gusto a characteristic sally of his venomous tongue. Finding himself at a dinner-party, where Bobus Smith had bored the company beyond endurance with an exhaustive description of his mother's charms, Talleyrand turned at

last upon the offender with the observation: 'C'était, donc, Monsieur votre père qui n'était pas beau!'

Metternich, on the other hand, pleased as much as the Prince of Benevento disgusted. His

'elegant address, courtly manners and deep politeness, joined to a fine person, at once prepossess strangers and secure the affection of those admitted to a closer intimacy. A sparkling wit which never wounds, an easy gaiety which inspires those who talk to him, and the gift of drawing out whatever is agreeable in those with whom he converses (thus making them pleased with themselves), may be used in the Cabinet for political purposes, but it is in intimate society that these gifts inspire an attachment, often feigned but seldom felt, for an absolute minister. Prince Metternich is beloved to an extraordinary degree by all who do not smart under his diplomatic talents. He is universally admitted to be the most amiable man in Vienna' (i, 310).

It is a little disconcerting, after this sunny portrait, to find the reputedly austere and British presence of Sir Robert Peel compared with that of the Austrian Chancellor.

'So far from Mr Peel's manner being unpleasant, he reminds me more of Metternich than any Englishman I ever encountered. He has a foreign *tournure de phrases* which I delight in, and yet in an Englishman it had at first displeased me' (ii, 17).

A visit to Abbotsford in 1819, before the authorship of the Waverley Novels was known, resulted in an interesting sketch of Scott, as well as in some amusing passages between Lady Shelley and her host.

'At dinner last night, while they were discussing "Waverley" and the Scotch novels, I ventured to say that, in my opinion, their heroes and heroines are, for the most part, insipid, and that sufficient justice had not been done to the female characteristics. Scott said this fault was probably due to the author's fear of being charged with immorality; he therefore made his characters as blameless as possible. . . . He paid me a very pretty compliment upon my riding at Paris. . . . "I am quite sure that the author of the Scottish Novels must have seen Lady Shelley ride, ere he described Di Vernon." We had a delightful dinner . . . I listened with deep interest to Scott's long stories—one story succeeding

another. . . . The only drawback to his society is his wife, who is universally allowed to be the greatest bore in Europe. He himself speaks with a tiresome drawl which has much increased since his illness' (ii, 48).

One might infinitely prolong such extracts as these—casual studies in portraiture, once of no great account, but now, with lapse of time, grown so astonishingly interesting in every line. Yet, just as one portrait in a gallery will put all the rest out of countenance by its singular charm, just as one strain of music will haunt the ear when the others are dead, so at the close of these enchanting volumes, one figure alone will fill the mind of the reader. The great Duke—the Duke *par excellence*, as they rightly termed him—has often been portrayed, and by loving hands, but the impression left on the public mind has always possessed a certain grimness, as if he were really cast in that unbending metal, which, brought at that moment into use for a ship bearing his name, suggested the symbol of his just and tenacious character. Lady Shelley, except on one single occasion, saw him in his softer moods. She has given us 'Wellington *intime*'—the Wellington implicit but not quite brought to view in the published extracts from Lady Salisbury's diary; a Wellington of deep feelings and fine susceptibilities and delicate consideration. It is a sudden and altogether unexpected testimony, for the memory of their friendship had almost died out. 'Wellington's relations with other women' (other, that is, than his wife), says Sir Herbert Maxwell, 'have been the subject of endless gossip. It must be admitted that they were numerous, and, with two or three exceptions, not of a kind on which it profits to dwell.' The exceptions mentioned are those of Lady Salisbury and Mrs Arbuthnot; and even against Mrs Arbuthnot's name Sir Herbert puts a 'caveat.' Lady Shelley's diary, if it does no more, at least supplies the name of a third exception—her own—and rescues Mrs Arbuthnot's from suspicion.

'I' (she says), 'who knew them both so well, am convinced that the Duke was not her lover. He admired her very much—for she had a manlike sense—but Mrs Arbuthnot was devoid of womanly passions, and was, above all, a loyal and truthful woman' (ii, 310).

Gossip, of course, filched a greater probability from the well-known character of the Duke's relations with his wife. Everyone knows how, influenced by an over-scrupulous sense of honour, he had on his return from India repeated an offer of marriage, which in his earlier and less distinguished days Lord and Lady Longford had not thought good enough for their daughter to accept. Love had grown cold and the lady plain in the intervening years; and the prolonged absences on service abroad which followed can have done little to waken a dead affection. But this was not the chief source of the trouble. Upon that Lady Salisbury's diary has already lifted the veil; and Lady Shelley's remarks corroborate what was there disclosed. She knew the Duchess and had received nothing but kindness from her; but she knew also where the blame lay. The fact was that 'the Duchess had precisely those faults which annoyed him most.' Socially she neither was, nor sought to be, of any assistance to him, but affected rather a galling eccentricity of dress and conduct. But there was much worse. He looked for 'absolute truth and the absence of little-mindedness.' Her constant endeavour was to keep him, and to make others, even his own children, keep him, in the dark about all manner of trifles, as well as about such considerable matters as his son's debts. Yet, wretched as all this is to think of, it is at least more tolerable than the appalling account of Nelson's behaviour to his wife, which Lady Shelley learnt from Lady Spencer, and where the blame lies all upon the hero.

It is possible, of course, that the Duke found in the circumstances of his domestic life an excuse for laxity. Rumour gave him as bad a character as it habitually does on the slightest pretext, wherever a man is sufficiently distinguished to be worth blackening; and we cannot bring rumour to the bar of justice. What is certain is that, on the one occasion on which the Duke took any notice of these allegations, he, the soul of truthfulness, repudiated their import. 'In private life I have been accused of every vice and enormity . . . Those who live with me, and know every action of my life and every thought, testify that such charges are groundless.' Cryptic statements like Sir Herbert Maxwell's are, besides, always a little objectionable. They may signify much or little.

They may mean that the Duke was an habitual libertine; they may mean only that he was an incurable flirt. And that he was very fond of flirting there is no room to deny.

So also was Lady Shelley. She met him first, as has been said, in London in 1814, when it seemed as if his fame were exalted to the stars; she met him again in Paris the following year, when all that had been seemed as nothing to that which then was. At twenty-eight she became the constant companion of the Conqueror of Napoleon; rode with him, supped with him, attended reviews in his company, accompanied him to a merry-ground, and under his auspices beheld all the assembled powers of Europe. No other part of the Diary quite equals these passages in interest and enthusiasm. Place and time, arms and the man, combine together for our satisfaction. Even now it is hardly possible to read the central passage without emotion. It was but a fortnight after Waterloo that the Shelleys arrived in Paris.

'Shelley, having changed his travelling-clothes, went off to call upon the Duke of Wellington, who, in about half-an-hour, returned with him to see me. . . . Wellington entered the room, looking as simple and unobtrusive as usual. I must admit that my enthusiasm for this great soldier was so great that I could not utter one word; and it was with the greatest difficulty that I restrained my tears. It was fortunate that I did so, for he would certainly not have understood the cause of such weakness. High-wrought sentiment was entirely foreign to the Duke's nature. . . . The painful feeling of awe which I at first felt in his presence was soon dispelled by the kindness of his manner, and the openness with which he conversed on the only subject about which I could think, or speak, namely himself and Waterloo! It was from his officers, and their accounts, that I learnt justly to appreciate the innumerable fine qualities of this truly great man. Everyone has some trait to relate of the Duke's character, of his talent, his coolness, and even his sensibility on the field of battle. I am told that when he gave the order, which changed the hitherto perilous defence at Waterloo into the glorious attack which decided the fortunes of that day, the expression of Wellington's face was almost superhuman. . . . As he himself said to me: "The finger of God was upon me"' (i, 95, 96).

It was indeed rather the divine attributes of the hero, than the human qualities of the man, that captured Lady

Shelley's fancy during these first weeks of their intimate friendship.

'During the whole of . . . dinner the Duke, who was in a confidential mood, talked *à cœur ouvert* of Waterloo, and of his feelings. I never, until that moment, realised the full power of his countenance; its wonderful expression, and the fire of his eyes when any subject interested him. . . . I agree with Lord Uxbridge, who exclaimed, on seeing the Duke during the battle, "I thought I had heard enough of this man, but he far surpasses my expectations. It is not a man but a god"' (i, 106).

The Diary revives one or two old controversies. Lady Shelley asserts that, on the night of June 17, the Duke rode over to Wavre to confer with Blücher; and Mr Edgcumbe, of whose admirable editing this is too tardy an acknowledgment, enforces the opinion in a footnote. His observations supply an instructive study in the higher criticism. We have two judges of the High Court, both claiming to have first-hand information, one of them affirming and the other denying the incident. The weight of numbers is certainly in its favour, as, besides Mr Justice Coltman, who says he heard the story from the Duke in 1838, and Lady Shelley, who heard it, at any rate, in the Duke's circle, if not from him, in 1815, there is the corroborative evidence of Mr Pierrepont, Lady Charles Wellesley's father. But the weight of probability tells rather the other way, for it is hard to agree with Mr Edgcumbe that the advantages of a personal interview really justified a commander-in-chief in leaving his army on the eve of certain and momentous battle, taking all the risks of a night-adventure, and suffering all the fatigue of a twenty-eight-mile ride over difficult country.

With another vexed question—the problem of the alleged surprise at Quatre-Bras—Lady Shelley deals too summarily to make her denial of much value; nor does she properly understand the point of criticism. But there is another matter on which she sheds a little interesting light. Some readers will recollect an anecdote of Sir William Fraser's, recording how Uxbridge and Alava shyly approached the Duke to enquire what they should do in the event of his being killed, and how with

an impassive countenance he told them that his plans hung upon Bonaparte's, with which he had no acquaintance. Lady Shelley reveals what was really in his mind. He told her that he had felt confident that he and he alone could achieve success, and he afterwards repeated to her the phrase so remarkable in his undramatic lips—'The finger of God was upon me.' But this consciousness did not involve any fatalism. As he rode with Uxbridge they came under a hot fire.

'I stopped him, and said: "I must not go there, for, should anything happen to me, the battle is lost!" . . . An odd thing to say to the second-in-command, was it not?' (i, 103).

Among the various colloquies there is one conversation which will strike the reader more profoundly than the rest. It is when the victorious general, looking back upon the most famous of all battles, describes his feelings with a 'glistening eye' and 'a broken voice':

'I hope to God' (he said) 'that I have fought my last battle. It is a bad thing to be always fighting. While in the thick of it I am too much occupied to feel anything; but it is wretched just after . . . I am wretched even at the moment of victory, and I always say that, next to a battle lost, the greatest misery is a battle gained. Not only do you lose those dear friends with whom you have been living, but you are forced to leave the wounded behind you. To be sure, one tries to do the best for them, but how little that is!' (i, 102).

Waterloo conversations were rounded off for the time with a visit to Waterloo itself; but in the following year, on Waterloo day, Sir John and Lady Shelley set out for Paris once more. They found the Duke as friendly as ever; and the work of the 'beau monde' was resumed again. Not, however, with quite the same zest! Already there is an agreeable note of weariness among the entries: 'One cannot really be happy while living in the world of fashion.' The writer's eyes, like those of many others who have passed the same way, were beginning to strain after the hills. And, in fact, the hills were in sight.

Readers of the Diary are apt to find the interlude which follows a little wearisome, the mountain-excursions a little platitudinous. No one, certainly, would set out nowadays to describe Swiss travel. But it must be recollected that Rousseau was still a new influence when

Lady Shelley wrote; and there is a certain freshness in her Alpine sentiment which is not unpleasing. Also, if we have any liking for a character which had to brave both the cares of this world and the uncertainty of riches, we shall be grateful for these snatches of solitude, to which, as a fortune-teller assured her, her disposition was naturally inclined. Just as the bewitching world-wise face of the Gioconda, who had known all the ways and thoughts of men, demands that simple background of rocks and sea, so we should be but half-acquainted with the fascination of this beautiful woman if we had not seen her for a moment before the Mer de Glace:

'I felt the presence of God and realised that state of chaos from which this lovely world had been formed. I walked on that frozen sea and gazed on chasms tinged with a deep blue, into whose depths no eye can penetrate. Through a snowstorm I beheld indistinctly the savage barrenness of the rocks on the further shore, while loud peals of thunder reverberated from side to side. And, then, in the far distance, I heard that awful sound—once heard never forgotten—caused by falling avalanches, and rolling stones, which bounded from rock to rock into the valley below . . . I never felt so near eternity as I did at that moment' (i, 244).

It was but little more than a moment that could be spared to these things, and the reader who cares only for 'le beau monde' will soon find himself there again. The locality indeed is changed, the actors are mostly new, but the piece is still the same. Nowhere are we made so sensible of Lady Shelley's strength and weakness as in the 'beau monde' of Vienna. She set herself to conquer a throne in that most exclusive and ancient society, and she succeeded beyond all reasonable anticipation. She secured admission to the circle of celebrities, which met evening by evening in Metternich's house, and to which no women had previously been admitted; and she had no sooner got there than she brought all the men of fashion to her feet. On her own confession she played the most perilous game that a woman can play, and with a calculated composure.

'I indulged my vanity to the full, and by the little arts of *coquetterie permise*, I succeeded in turning the heads of all those whom I have called my favourites. It was a great

amusement to me to keep them apparently good friends, to excite their jealousy, *de les faire enrager*, and to keep myself out of the scrape of falling in love' (i, 313).

It would have been a fiery ordeal at any time and in any circumstances. It must have been a furnace heated seven times hotter than elsewhere in that old-time society of Vienna, where, as she tells us, 'new books never arrive,' where 'no political news' penetrated, and where 'gossip, especially that which related to distinguished personages (Bonaparte and his Court were often discussed), formed almost the sole topic of conversation.'

Yet, contracted as it was, social intercourse was neither altogether frivolous nor at all dull.

'Any new discoveries in science were explained, romantic stories were told; while charades, *jeux d'esprit*, each in turn, enlivened our evenings. Although there were no *conteurs de profession*, each member of the society had some anecdote to relate' (i, 314).

If we enquire the secret of her own success, it is simply told. She had exquisite tact.

'My part was usually that of an animated and admiring listener. The enjoyment that I felt and expressed, seemed to excite fresh discussion: while *un petit mot placé à propos* . . . gained for me a reputation for conversation at which I am often, when I think of it, astonished' (*ib.*).

It was from one man in particular that, as she tells us, Lady Shelley discovered that conversation is an art that requires cultivation. The portrait of Victor de Caraman, the French Ambassador at Vienna, is one of the most charming in the book. Unspoilt by wealth or fortune or beauty, yet having all these things in abundance, he was a true denizen of 'le beau monde,' a proper friend for the Duc de Richelieu. With her other great admirer—Czernicheff—it was far otherwise. Beautiful as Apollo, brave as Hercules, cunning as Odysseus, he took the lowest view of his fellow-creatures.

'He was a perfect infidel to the virtue' of women, until I made him a convert to mine in particular . . . It was not until he was assured by his own disappointment, that he

could be convinced that the Duke of Wellington's attentions to me at Paris last year were the result of a pure friendship.'

All this while the Duke and Lady Shelley continued to correspond. 'I really hope that you will write to me whenever you have a leisure moment,' he told her, 'and I will answer you punctually; and I only beg that you will not show or quote the contents of my letters.' The wander-years for both of them, however, were closing in. In 1818 the Duke completed his long service abroad, and Lady Shelley reached the close of her meteoric career through the capitals of Europe. She found English society a poor substitute for the brilliant salons of the Continent, defective particularly in giving to women their proper chance in culture or in conversation.

'Le plaisir de causer nous est défendu. Les hommes ne s'amuse pas—ou, pour se servir de leur langage, "ne perdent pas leur temps" à dire aux femmes ces aimables riens qu'on paye par un sourire sur le continent . . . Je ne serai rien pour le monde. . . . Je serai l'amie dont on suit les conseils, la femme qu'on respecte, et je ferai le bien parmi mes pauvres avec tout le zèle de mon caractère ardent. . . . Ce sera dans un autre monde que je chercherai ce qui pour moi serait le bonheur suprême, le perfectionnement des moyens que je sens que je possède d'approfondir les sciences, les idées' (ii, 3).

This bitter *cri de cœur* is dominant in the entries of that year. Nevertheless 'le beau monde' had still some considerable pleasures in store. Not the least of them was a long intimacy with the Duke. In October 1819 we find him on a visit to her at Maresfield in Sussex, where he made himself delightful to the small party of assembled neighbours. In the shooting-field, however, he proved a less satisfactory companion than in the drawing-room; and his exploits were undoubtedly of a kind to have provoked Mr Pickwick—had that admirable man been present—to order his gun to be taken away. He was sufficiently innocuous to the birds, but singularly successful in hitting larger animate objects; and both a dog and a keeper quickly experienced the impact of his shot. His most serious encounter, however, was with an old woman, who gave loud expression to her feelings on finding herself under fire. Lady Shelley was fortunately at hand to assure her that she had secured an honour

beyond all reasonable expectation in being peppered by the hero of Waterloo; and this inspiring reflection, associated with more material comfort from the Duke, restored her equanimity.

The intimacy between the two friends continued to ripen as their lives matured. The Diary incorporates more than one letter of ready sympathy and kindly advice. In this class falls an interesting scheme for the manufacture into a complete soldier of young John Shelley—one of those provoking children for whose career solicitude makes all provision and of whose name history takes no account.

'You must impress upon his mind' (the Duke told the boy's mother), 'first that he is coming into the world at an age at which he who knows nothing will be nothing. . . . He must understand that there is nothing learnt but by study and application. . . . If he means to rise in the military profession . . . he must be master of languages, of the mathematics, of military tactics of course, and of all the duties of an officer in all situations. He will not be able to converse or write like a gentleman . . . unless he understands the classics; and by neglecting them . . . he will lose much gratification . . . and a great deal . . . of professional information and instruction' (ii, 128).

And this does not exhaust the programme.

Through all the changes and chances of life; through private sorrows like the death of the Duke of Richmond from hydrophobia, of which there is a most curious and pathetic narrative; through public agitations like those attending Peterloo and the first Reform Bill; through the terrors of those times, the account of which should minister some comfort to those who suffer from the terrors of these; amid the 'folly, knavery, and vulgarity' which 'nothing can exceed'* of the Whig Ministers and the reformed House of Commons, the friendship pursued its course, to be wrecked at last upon the eternal question of national defence. For it was in part through the agency of Lady Shelley that the Duke's famous memorandum on that subject to Sir John Burgoyne was disclosed. In part only, for Sir John was himself clearly the primary if not the principal offender.

* The phrases are Mrs Arbuthnot's.

But it was at his own familiar friend that the Duke, not unnaturally, levelled his severest strictures. She had, as she confesses, forgotten what every friend of his ought to have remembered, that an attack upon the Queen's Government delivered by the Queen's Commander-in-Chief violated his code of honour, and was indeed a negation of all that he had stood for in public life. In his old age he was made to seem untrue to his principles. He wrote harshly; and women complain that he forgot the privileges of their sex. There is, no doubt, an epigram—the most biting that our century has yet produced—which warns us that ‘you cannot expect a lady to behave like a gentleman.’ But the condemnation of the Duke will be dearly bought by the acceptance of that caustic admonition.

Lady Shelley herself fully recognised the substantial justice of his rebukes. For two cheerless years she suffered all the pains of excommunication. Then Sir John intervened with his consummate *aplomb*. Meeting the Duke casually, he went up to him and said, ‘Good evening, Duke! Do you know it has been said by someone who must have been present that the cackling of geese once saved Rome. I have been thinking that, perhaps, the cackling of my old Goose may yet save England!’ ‘By G-d, Shelley!’ said the other, ‘you are right: give me your honest hand.’

So exquisite a finish half stifles regret for the untoward incident. But the Duke, though he forgave, never quite forgot. Kindly relations were indeed resumed, but not quite on the old basis. The Diary loses its zest; and we feel that Lady Shelley, after this bitter tribulation, goes a little softly all her remaining years. The Duke and Sir John both died in 1852. She lived on among her memories, revisiting the old scenes with much, no doubt, of the grief she speaks of, than which the poets say there is no greater, but also clearly with a great thankfulness for all that life had given her of truth and beauty, above all for that supreme friendship which was the coping-stone of all the rest. We watch her character as it passes into the quiet of old age; and in her last words upon the Duke we feel that she had come to know him even as she had come to know herself: ‘I would try to show that a deep sense of duty, based on a simple

faith in the truth of the Bible, was the foundation of every act in his life.' Upon that searching appreciation we might expect the curtain to drop. But, as if to make all things perfect and entire, one last pathetic radiance from the great world comes to grace the end of the story. Queen Victoria was Lady Shelley's neighbour in the Isle of Wight, and in the old lady's last decline

'it happened that one day, when Her Majesty called to make inquiries, they told her that they feared Lady Shelley was dying. On hearing this the Queen, without a moment's hesitation, went to her bedside, and stood there for some minutes in silence. Then came one of those wonderful flickerings which for a brief span rekindle the light of the dying, and Lady Shelley opened her eyes. Upon the Queen asking her if there was any particular thing that she wished for, Lady Shelley with grateful tears in her eyes replied: "I should be completely satisfied to die, Your Majesty, if I might be allowed to kiss your hand!" A few minutes later—while the Queen was descending the stairs—the intelligence came that all was over' (ii, 412).

The Diary needs no laboured commendation. Its author will take her place—if she has not already done so—beside Greville and Creevey and Croker, beside Mme de Boigne and Sarah, Lady Lyttelton, and Queen Victoria, in that distinguished company of observant women and too observant men who are portraying in different kind and measure the 'beau monde' of the Counter-Revolution. Already we can see upon the canvas, amid features that are subject to circumstance and occasion, a form and visage which we shall behold no more.

ALGERNON CECIL.

Art. 9.—INDIAN PROGRESS AND TAXATION.

1. *Statement exhibiting the moral and material Progress and Condition of India during the years 1911-12 and the nine preceding years.* India Office, 1913.
2. *Indian Unrest.* By Sir Valentine Chirol. London: Macmillan, 1910.
3. *The Awakening of India.* By J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910.
4. *The Economic Transition of India.* By Sir Theodore Morison. London: Murray, 1911.
5. *Anglo-Indian Studies.* By S. M. Mitra. London: Longmans, 1913.

It would be a sheer impossibility to attempt to deal at all adequately in a single article with the vast mass of material contained in the decennial report on the condition of India recently presented to Parliament. Apart from considerations based on differences of race, religion, language, climate and geographical position, we are, at the very outset of the report, met by a statement of fact, which, in itself, should be sufficient to make the most self-confident critic pause before he attempts to generalise, or to treat India as a single national unit. We are told that the total population of the country consists of about 315,000,000 persons, spread over an area of 1,833,000 square miles. Obviously, there can be but little similarity between the economic conditions existing in provinces like Bengal and Madras, with a population of respectively 578 and 477 to the square mile, and those in sparsely populated districts such as the Central Provinces, with a density of 68 to the square mile, or arid Beluchistan, where the population does not exceed five to the square mile. Further, while it is possible, without incurring the charge of adopting a misleading political nomenclature, to speak of a South African, an Egyptian, or an Irish question, the merest tyro in political life would hesitate ere he spoke of an Indian question. There are, in fact, a round score or more of Indian questions, all of which bristle with special difficulties of their own. All, therefore, that can here be attempted is to select one of these numerous questions, and to deal briefly with some of its leading features.

Of late years public attention has been mainly directed to alterations in the machinery adopted for carrying on the government and administration of India. It may, however, be confidently asserted that, looking to the general welfare of the masses, no change in that machinery has produced, or, indeed, is at all likely to produce, anything like the beneficial effect which has resulted from the closure of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver twenty years ago. The generation has now almost passed away which can remember the happy days when an Indian Civil Servant, by lodging Rs. 1000 with a bank at Calcutta or Bombay, could feel assured that 100% would be placed at the disposal of his wife and children who were residing in England. That halcyon epoch came to an end when, after the Franco-Prussian war, Germany demonetised her silver and the Bank of France was no longer prepared to exchange the precious metals at a fixed ratio. Then followed a period of acute controversy on currency matters, ending in a theoretical victory for the bimetallicists, and a practical victory for the monometallicists. The latter were obliged to admit that the precious metals could not be considered as commodities, like wheat or coal, whose price depended solely on supply and demand. The former were forced to admit that, however sound their economic theory might be, it was practically impossible to give effect to it. During all this period India suffered acutely. The individual with a fixed income was naturally hard hit, if he had to remit money to England, because the rupee was low; but the country in general, and the Government which presided over its destinies, suffered not so much because the rupee was low as because its value was unstable. How, indeed, could a Finance Minister settle his Budget when he was liable, in the course of the year, to see all his calculations upset by a brusque and profound change in the standard of value? What prudent capitalist would embark in any fresh industrial enterprise when, for a similar reason, his estimate of profit was at best but a hazardous conjecture? It was clear that so long as the foundations of Indian finance reposed on a shifting and bottomless quicksand, the economic development of the country would of necessity be arrested. This disastrous period of doubt and un-

certainty was brought to a close in 1893, when Lord Lansdowne, acting on the very competent advice of Sir David Barbour, closed the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, with the object of eventually introducing a gold standard.

It is now the fashion to decry the views held by the older economists. Carlyle led the attack on that 'dismal science,' whose tenets he was at no pains to understand. Mr Gladstone, albeit in his action he to a great extent belied his words, banished political economy to the planet Saturn; and it would be almost an insult to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer to suppose that, in elaborating any of his quixotic schemes for the subversion of the financial system of his country, he has ever deigned to glance at the pages of Mill or Bastiat. Nevertheless, in spite of the outward contempt with which this Cinderella amongst the sciences is at times treated, political economy has an awkward way of vindicating its own majesty. A sure reward awaits those who, in spite of occasional obloquy and misrepresentation, conform to its leading precepts. A slow but certain Nemesis, as Socialists and Protectionists—if, *quod Dis non placeat*, they should ever have their way in this country—will eventually learn, dogs the steps of those who violate its leading principles. The principle adopted in respect to the Indian currency in 1893 was, from an economic point of view, thoroughly sound. Its authors met with their reward, but it did not come immediately. It was not until 1899 that the rupee acquired a stable value of 1s. 4d. Lord Curzon generously recognised how much he owed to the measure adopted by his predecessor. Speaking of the commercial and industrial advance of India during his Viceroyalty, he said: 'The improvement dates from the closing of the mints by Lord Lansdowne and Sir David Barbour; and, though it is in my time that the fruits have been mainly reaped, the seeds were sown by them.'

Two years ago, Sir Theodore Morison published a very useful little volume in which he gave an interesting summary of the recent industrial development of India. This movement unquestionably received a powerful stimulus from the wise measure to which reference has just been made. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that, but for the adoption of that measure, it is almost

certain that no considerable industrial development could have occurred. The decennial report now carries on the tale to a somewhat later date. Everywhere the same story is told. Railways have to a very great extent conjured away the spectre of famine, and have profoundly affected the conditions of rural life. 'Old customs based on ideas once appropriate to the village economy, but now no longer applicable, are beginning to lose their force. The theory of the self-contained village, with its dependent fringe of non-cultivating artisans and servants, is breaking down.' Hand industries, especially weaving, show singular vitality, although it is almost inevitable that they should eventually disappear. In 1903 there were 2460 factories in existence throughout the country, employing 662,000 workmen. In 1911 the number of factories had increased to 3099, and the number of workmen employed to 920,000. The capital invested in the important jute industry has increased from 4,500,000*l.* to nearly 8,000,000*l.* It is earnestly to be hoped that it will not be crippled, as some propose, by the imposition of a heavy export duty. Some 17,000,000*l.* are invested in the production of tea, involving an annual wage bill of between 1,700,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.*, practically the whole of which is spent within the province of Assam. Iron and steel works, 'with exclusively Indian capital of over 1,500,000*l.* and an Indian board of directors,' have been started in Bengal. As regards carpet-weaving, the report makes the somewhat ominous remark that it is 'an important jail industry.' The wisdom of the policy adopted in the matter of jail industries by the Government of India is, indeed, very questionable. Generally speaking, however, the facts adduced in the report give evidence of wise administration, which has resulted in a widespread improvement in the economic condition of the country. Thus, in the United Provinces, it is said that 'a very marked change is in progress in the standard of life of the upper and middle classes, which may be summarised as a gradual approximation to European standards adapted to local conditions.' In the North-West Frontier Province there has been a general advancement of prosperity, and 'the people now affect more commodious and better furnished houses.' In the Central Provinces 'the economic development of the

province has certainly been the most striking feature of the decade.' In Madras 'the people are becoming alive to the necessity of some new measure of industrial life. There is a strongly-marked tendency to industrialism on a small scale . . . Trade statistics show immense development.' As regards Bombay, it is said that 'on the whole the decade has been a period of general prosperity, of a wider distribution of wealth, and of the expansion of industry and commerce.'

All this is very satisfactory so far as it goes. The transition from agriculture to manufactures, though as yet on a small scale, is probably proceeding as rapidly as the special conditions of the country render possible. It may well be doubted whether, on any showing, the industries concerned stand in need of any artificial help in the shape of Protection. This question need not, however, be discussed at present. The main fact to be borne in mind is that at least 65 per cent. of the population of India are still employed in agricultural pursuits; and that, taking the Census definition of a town as a place with a population of 5000 souls and over, about 90 per cent. of the people live in villages, and only 10 per cent. in towns. It may confidently be predicted that it will take years, if not generations, before any very marked alteration occurs in these proportionate figures.

The danger of generalising about things Indian has been already indicated. But there are some exceptions to the rule. One generalisation which can safely be made is that the population generally is extremely poor. The other is that, both on political and economic grounds, taxation must be light. Some years ago Sir David Barbour, after a very careful examination of this question, came to the conclusion that the average annual income per head of population in India was Rs. 27. Mr Ramsay Macdonald gives it at 2*l*. Whichever figure be taken as correct, the fact is very striking; for Mr Ramsay Macdonald is evidently justified in saying that if 2*l*. be the average there must be considerable sections of the community whose incomes fall below that figure. The incidence of taxation per head of population, exclusive of the land revenue, has varied during the last decade from 1*s*. 10½*d*. in 1903-04 to 2*s*. 1*d*. in 1912-13. Two shillings a year does not appear to us to be a very

heavy tax ; but consider what it means to a man who has only 2*l.*, or perhaps less, on which to live for twelve months. It is the equivalent, and even in reality much more than the equivalent, of a tax of 5*l.* levied on an Englishman with an income of 100*l.* a year. If this consideration stood alone, it would be sufficient to justify the assertion that the fiscal system of India must of necessity be based not only on light, but on very light taxation. But it does not stand alone. Political considerations point to a precisely similar conclusion. The wise words of Lord Lawrence hold as good to-day as they did half a century ago. 'Light taxation,' he said, 'is the panacea for foreign rule in India.'

Arguments of this sort, it may be said, are mere commonplaces ; but they are commonplaces which, albeit generally recognised in theory, are very apt to be forgotten in practice, especially by democratic assemblies. For some years past we have seen the members of the British House of Commons blindly agreeing to huge expenditures without any very definite idea of how the liabilities which they so lightly incurred were to be met, but with probably a vague hope animating the breasts of many individual members that any increased taxation would not fall on the classes which these members specially represent, but would be paid by other classes in whose welfare they are less personally interested. India has recently been endowed with institutions which, in fact and perhaps even still more in spirit, involve no inconsiderable step in a democratic direction. Demands for increased expenditure on sanitation, education, and other matters are cropping up on all sides. It may well be that the representatives of Indian opinion, whose claims to be regarded as representatives, it may be incidentally remarked, are not of any very assured validity, may lend a too-ready ear to these demands, and forget that there may be even worse evils than the continuance for a while of insanitary conditions and ignorance or illiteracy.

There never was a time, therefore, when it behoved both the Government of India and the Secretary of State to offer a more resolute opposition to reforms, however laudable in themselves, if those reforms would involve increasing the burthen of taxation on the poverty-

stricken masses of India. The importance which the people themselves generally attach to these reforms must at best be more or less a matter of conjecture. That they would strenuously object to being taxed in order to carry them into execution admits of no manner of doubt. In spite of recent changes, it is difficult to believe that the India described by Sir John Strachey and Sir Alfred Lyall has altogether passed away. The former, writing twenty-five years ago, said: 'The vast masses of the people remain in a different world from ours. They hate everything new, and they especially hate almost everything that we look upon as progress'; and very similar testimony was borne by Sir Alfred Lyall. There could not be a more grievous error than to suppose that the incipient industrialism, of which the decennial report furnishes satisfactory evidence, has as yet resulted in any such accretion of wealth as to increase in any notable degree the taxpaying power of the community in general. It can have done nothing of the sort. The industrial movement has so far only scratched the surface of society. Years, possibly generations, must elapse before the mass of the population of India becomes, from a fiscal point of view, different from what it now is; and the position of the people is that, by reason of their very limited wants, they are probably the least taxable, and, by reason of their poverty, the least potentially tax-paying community in the world.

Of all the proposals likely to necessitate an increase of fiscal burthens, the most attractive, and therefore in some respects the most dangerous, are those which pertain to educational policy. The past history of education in India is not one on which any reflecting Englishman can look back with unmixed satisfaction. It is, Sir Alfred Lyall said, 'a story of grave political miscalculation.' That attempts should now be made to rectify the errors of the past is altogether commendable; and that those attempts should take the form of stimulating primary education is both right and natural. In 1911, taking India as a whole, only one male in ten, and only one female in a hundred, could read and write in any vernacular language. Some reformers, in order to make a rapid impression on the mass of illiteracy which still exists, would go so far as to introduce the purely western system of

making education compulsory. Without attempting to deal with all the aspects in which this drastic proposal may be presented, it will be sufficient, for the purposes of the present argument, to say that a measure of this sort could only be carried out by the imposition of fresh taxation to meet the very heavy expenditure which would of necessity be involved; and that, for the reasons already given, any increase of taxation is greatly to be deprecated. 'For financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight,' the decennial report says, 'they [the Government of India] have refused to recognise the principle of compulsory education.' It is greatly to be hoped that there will be no departure from this wise policy. The voluntary basis of education, on which the policy of the Government has so far been based, has produced very satisfactory results. During the ten years under review the number of boys 'not reading printed books' in the primary stages of the Public Schools has increased from about 565,000 to 1,185,000, and—which is still more remarkable—the number of girls has risen from 101,000 to 328,000. During the same period the number of boys 'reading printed books' has increased from 2,209,000 to 2,897,000, and the number of girls from 252,000 to 458,000. Looking to these facts and to the balance of advantage to be gained and disadvantage to be incurred, there appear to be weighty objections to making any radical change in the existing system.

There is, indeed, an alternative to increasing taxation, if more money is absolutely required. It is to reduce expenditure. Any economies, provided that they do not impair the military strength of the country or seriously cripple the efficiency of the civil administration, are of course to be welcomed. It is impossible to discuss this matter at any length on the present occasion. Brief allusion may, however, be made to one point as to which Indian opinion is very sensitive, viz., what are known as the 'Home Charges.'

There can be no doubt that, in the distribution of liabilities between the British and Indian Treasuries, India has a right not merely to just but to generous treatment. The claim to be treated with generosity has recently been much strengthened owing to the fact that, in order to salve the consciences of the British public,

India has been forced to abandon the very large revenue which up to the present time has been derived from the export of opium to China. Still less can there be any doubt of the existence of a very prevalent opinion that in these matters India has not been treated either with generosity or even with justice. Sir Valentine Chirol says: 'The Indian Nationalist Press has not been alone in describing the recent imposition on the Indian taxpayer of a capitation allowance amounting to 300,000*l.* a year to meet the increased cost of the British soldier as "the renewed attempt of a rapacious War Office to raid the helpless Indian Treasury."' Moreover, small economies have at times been made at the expense of India, which have caused an amount of friction and ill-feeling altogether out of proportion to the amount of money saved to the British taxpayer. Some years ago, the cost of a ball given to the Sultan of Turkey in London was most unwisely charged to the Indian Treasury—an incident which afforded for a long period a fertile text for the sarcasms and vituperation of Indian Anglophobes. If what Mr Ramsay Macdonald says is correct, it would appear that more recently an attempt, which fortunately proved unsuccessful, was made to saddle India with a charge of 7000*l.* for entertaining the representatives and guests from India who took part in the Coronation ceremonies of the late King. Claims on India of this description are absolutely indefensible. Nevertheless, looking at the broader aspects of the question, it cannot be said that India has much of which she can justly complain in this connexion. This has been conclusively shown by Sir T. Morison; and even Mr Ramsay Macdonald, who is no indulgent critic of the British administration of India, says that he 'has found himself unable to feel much wrath about what is called "the drain."'

The 'Home Charges' amounted in 1911-12 to about 18,865,000*l.* The main item is 10,769,000*l.* on account of interest and management of the debt. Never has public expenditure been more amply justified. Not only are the railways yielding a return of 5·35 per cent. and the Irrigation works a return of 7·39 per cent., on the capital outlay, but the money spent on these objects has saved millions of lives, has solved the famine problem, and has almost certainly been the main factor in improving the

general condition of the country and its inhabitants. The next charge in order of importance is 5,470,000*l.* for non-effective charges and furlough allowances. This is the price which India has to pay for the 'Pax Britannica' and all its contingent advantages. Whether the price is or is not excessive may be a matter of opinion; but there can be no manner of doubt that India has received and is still receiving good value for her money.

There remain two other rather more questionable items. The first is 1,016,000*l.* for 'army and marine effective charges.' It is very right and natural that the details of these charges should be most carefully scrutinised from the Indian point of view, and that the British Government should be called upon to apply a remedy to any grievance which can reasonably be shown to exist. The other item is 1,191,000*l.* on account of stores of all kinds purchased in England. This appears recently to have undergone a marked diminution; in 1901-02 it stood at 1,993,000*l.* Nevertheless, it is to be regretted that the subject has not been more fully treated in the decennial report. All that is said is that the imported stores consist mainly of railway plant, rolling-stock, etc., and that a preference is given to local articles 'when the quality is satisfactory and the price not unfavourable.' The point is one as to which Indian opinion is somewhat specially sensitive. Mr Mitra in his 'Anglo-Indian Studies' (p. 95) quotes a complaint on this subject made by Sir Rajendra Mookerjee to the effect that, in a specific case, the Government refused to purchase some railway plant locally unless the cost were 5 per cent. less than that paid for English goods of the same quality. It is highly probable that this circumstance admits of some satisfactory explanation. Moreover, any one who has had practical experience in dealing with this subject knows that, especially as regards railway plant, it is often by no means easy to decide which of several tenders is really the cheapest. It may, however, be suggested that the India Office would act wisely in taking some opportunity to give full explanations in respect to the operations of the Stores Department.

CROMER.

Art. 10.—THE WHOLE-WORLD NEEDS OF THE NAVY.

THE outstanding problem of the immediate future which confronts the Imperial and Dominion Governments is the provision of naval armaments adequate to the world-wide needs of the British Empire. It is no longer sufficient to study our naval requirements in the light of the activity of one or even two fleets in Europe; attention must be paid to the progress of all the great navies of the world, and an effort made to reduce to a minimum the margin of risk, not merely of an unsuccessful war, but of the effective exercise of diplomatic pressure against British interests—it may be important trade-interests—without war. The inter-relation between naval and commercial and diplomatic prestige is close; in our defence arrangements we cannot afford to ignore it; with commerce in every sea we cannot rest satisfied with naval primacy in the North Sea only, and with what almost amounts to the withdrawal of the flag from distant oceans.

The United Kingdom is the centre of a vast political organisation. The area of the Empire, which amounted to 4,500,000 square miles fifty years ago, now closely approximates to 11,000,000 square miles. During this period its population has more than doubled; its revenue has risen from 129,165,000*l.* to over 400,000,000*l.*; its imports and exports have more than trebled; and the shipping cleared and entered annually has risen from 49,700,000 tons to 332,658,000 tons. Developments of this character, unparalleled by any other country, cannot be disregarded in any attempt to assess the naval power which the British peoples should wield in defence of their world-wide interests.

Not only does the British Empire occupy one quarter of the land-surface of the earth, but its territory is divided almost equally between the northern and southern hemispheres. In the new conditions which the expansion of England in the last fifty years has created, it is contrary to all sound strategic principles to estimate our naval needs merely by reference to the accumulation of naval armaments in a single sea, and to deny the necessity of naval representation in other oceans where

there are vital British interests exposed to danger, and where in recent years powerful rival fleets have come into being. It is true that roughly three-quarters of the white population of the Empire live in the United Kingdom, but to the remainder of the peoples of the Empire the defence of the seas which wash their coasts may at any moment become a matter of supreme importance. Nor is it reasonable, in the consideration of our Imperial needs, to ignore entirely the coloured subjects of the King, who, in various degrees, are also taxpayers, and are concerned in the sufficiency and efficiency of the Navy for the defence of all they possess, and specifically of a measure of freedom which they would certainly enjoy under no other dominion. If we take a larger vision of the Empire, without distinction of race or colour, we find that nearly 350,000,000 of those who owe allegiance to the King and Emperor live outside the British Isles, and that their annual revenue is almost exactly the same as that of the people of the United Kingdom; and a similar proportion is observable in studying the figures of imports and exports. In the matter of debt very much the same ratio exists between the United Kingdom and the rest of the Empire.

But this is not a full reflection of the economic conditions. Practically all the 900,000,000*l.* which is owed by the Overseas Dominions has been borrowed from the people of the United Kingdom at rates of interest which the colonial dependencies of no other empire enjoy. Credit varies in accordance with the stability or instability of political institutions; and these depend, so far as external perils affect them, upon the adequacy or inadequacy of the national defensive services. As Lord Kitchener, in his Defence Memorandum to the Australian Commonwealth, remarked, 'It is an axiom that the Empire's existence depends primarily upon the maintenance of adequate and efficient naval forces.'

Owing to the progress of steam navigation, the British Empire has approached much nearer to a geographical unity than of old. Its various sections are united rather than divided by the seas. So long as those ocean highways can be kept open to the free navigation of British shipping, communication between every part of the Empire is assured. The great peril of war is not so much

the landing of hostile troops at this or that point, as the conquest or even invasion of the seas which are the vital links binding together all the British peoples.

There was a time when the people of the United Kingdom were undismayed, though they had relatively small naval forces. Their responsibilities were limited and the number of rival fleets few. Fifty years ago Sir John Pakington, on succeeding to the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, declared that 'the strength of the navy did not exceed that of France alone'; and in the Memoirs of Sir Astley Cooper Key (p. 428) the late Admiral P. H. Colomb records that the Board of Admiralty under the Earl of Northbrook took office in 1880 'with a navy not superior to that of France alone, either in ironclads or in cruisers; and with no general feeling either in Parliament or in the country that this was not as it ought to be.' This distinguished student of naval policy continued:

'The fact had been that, as long as considerable numbers of the war admirals remained alive, the country was kept by them in a state of instinctive consciousness of the peculiar vulnerability of these islands, and of the necessity of maintaining impenetrable naval armour. But, after these had passed away, there was no way of preserving that consciousness but by the writings and speeches of naval officers who had closely studied history and were capable of applying its lessons. But there were no such writers or speakers for many years; and, after the Reform Bill had set up a fashion for economy and retrenchment, it was almost a matter of course that the navy should be made the principal subject of it. A check to expenditure was more easily applied to the navy than to any other department. Even after the establishment of the continuous service system, by which the State was bound to retain the services of men for not less than ten years, great reductions in expenditure could be at once effected by paying off ships, discharging workmen, and ceasing to purchase stores.'

Not until 1884 was an effectual effort made to convince the nation of its peril; and it was not until five years later that the Two Power Standard, as a measure of safety (for the United Kingdom rather than the Empire as a whole), was definitely adopted by the Government of the day at the instigation of Lord George Hamilton,

supported by a reawakened public opinion. Under Lord Goschen this formula was amended, and it was held to imply a margin of 10 per cent. over the next two strongest fleets, which for many years were France and Russia. Then, in the opening years of this century, with the growth of friendly feelings between the British and French peoples and the temporary eclipse of the naval power of Russia after the war in the Far East, the Two Power Standard ceased to be a convenient method of assessing our naval strength. The anomalous character of this formula was emphasised by the increasing predominance of Germany on the seas, by the introduction of the Dreadnought type, and by the secret construction resorted to on the other side of the North Sea. In the new circumstances, the Admiralty decided that the British Fleet should be maintained at a strength representing a 60 per cent. margin in modern battleships of the all-big-gun type over the next strongest Power (which by this time was Germany) with other and higher standards for cruisers and torpedo craft.

This was the state of affairs when Mr Churchill came into office and Germany adopted her latest Navy Act—that of 1912—which not only increased the establishment of ships, but provided that approximately four-fifths of her enlarged navy should be kept always on a war footing, ready to strike instantly. This new factor in the Admiralty's problem came into prominence at a moment when it was realised that, owing to the increasing pressure in the North Sea, the British Navy was in danger of losing its hold upon the outer seas, where remarkable naval developments were also proceeding. In the Mediterranean, Italy and Austria-Hungary had made such progress with their ambitious shipbuilding programmes that in 1912 the British Squadron of older pre-Dreadnought battleships had to be withdrawn, since they were, in the words of Mr Churchill, 'slow enough to be brought to action by newer vessels and not strong enough to maintain themselves in the line of battle.' For the time the Mediterranean was practically abandoned. This latest development was all the more remarkable, as an indication of the trend of events and the pressure exerted in the North Sea, when studied in the light of the Admiralty's admission to the Canadian Government in

December 1912 that 'in 1902 there were 160 British vessels on the oversea stations against 76 to-day.'

This temporary withdrawal from the Mediterranean, the great highway of the Empire and the route taken by a large proportion of the food and raw material of the people of the United Kingdom, marked a turning-point in our naval history. It supplied conclusive proof that a margin of 60 per cent. in Dreadnoughts over the next strongest naval Power was not adequate for the whole-world needs of the British peoples, even if allowance were made for our temporary superiority in pre-Dreadnoughts, since it left the Admiralty crippled and for the moment helpless in face of the remarkable naval situation swiftly developing in the Mediterranean and the Pacific.

During the period when the German Navy was so rapidly increasing in strength, the fleets of the United States and Japan were partially rebuilt. The American Navy, indeed, has for several years contested with Germany the position of the second naval Power of the world; and, although the Japanese Navy is not so large, it has continued to enjoy the high prestige it won in the war with Russia, and it is now being further strengthened. These fleets were exercising considerable influence on Pacific politics at the very moment when the Admiralty was compelled by the pressure of events not only to withdraw from the Mediterranean, but to cancel unceremoniously the scheme for an Imperial patrol in the Pacific Ocean which had been negotiated with the Governments of New Zealand and Australia at the Defence Conference of 1909.

This has been a most unhappy departure in inter-Imperial policy. What are the facts? It was agreed in 1909 to remodel the squadrons maintained in Eastern waters and to provide an Imperial patrol consisting of three fleet units, one to cruise in the East Indies, one in Australian waters, and one in the Far East. Each unit was to consist, with some variations, of a battle-cruiser, three light cruisers, six destroyers, and three submarines. It was hoped that Canada would provide a fourth unit, but Sir W. Laurier did not approve of the proposal. The mother-country was to send one battle-cruiser and the other necessary units to the East Indies; the armoured ship presented by New Zealand was to become the flagship

in China waters, a number of smaller vessels being based upon New Zealand ports; and the Commonwealth Government was to build and equip the third unit, with some assistance at first from British funds. Australia has not only carried out her part of the scheme, but has decided to bear the whole cost without assistance from the British Exchequer; and the defence of the Australian station is now definitely assigned to her by the Imperial Government, which has lent Rear-Admiral Sir George Patey as the first Commander-in-Chief of the new Australian Fleet. But under the pressure in European waters, and owing to the inadequacy of British resources to the new needs, the mother-country has broken faith. The East Indies Squadron has not been reorganised on the lines proposed, though the 'Swiftsure,' a hybrid ship, neither battleship nor battle-cruiser, was recently sent out as flagship. The battle-cruiser 'New Zealand,' instead of becoming the flagship on the China station, has, at the urgent request made by the Imperial authorities to the New Zealand Government, been allocated to the Home Fleet; and, as a substitute, the 'Triumph,' a sister-ship of the 'Swiftsure,' is being despatched to the China station and there placed in reserve. This last step has been taken presumably because the Admiralty's resources of officers and men are inadequate to keep the ship in full sea-going commission.

Such is the story of the repudiation by the Imperial Government of the responsibilities of Empire. Even the modest scheme adopted four years ago has had to be, if not entirely abandoned, at any rate seriously modified in consequence of the operation of three influences. First, the German Navy has been further expanded, and has developed the tactics of the sudden blow—for this is the real meaning of the legislation passed in the spring of last year. Secondly, the Italian and Austro-Hungarian navies have begun to respond to the energetic ship-building and manning policy adopted by their respective Governments three or four years ago, with the result that British predominance in the Mediterranean has become a thing of the past. Thirdly, the standard of strength of a 60 per cent. margin over the second naval Power has proved unequal to the needs of the Empire, even with the assistance proffered by the

Dominions; since it is held that, under the new conditions, which include the possibility of an enemy making war upon us at our 'average moment' and his 'selected moment,' it is essential that five-sixths of our margin of superiority should be retained in home waters, leaving only one-sixth and the Dominion ships for the protection of British interests in other oceans and seas.

In the light of these events how do we stand? The Admiralty, as Mr Churchill has admitted, regards the 'Lord Nelson' and the 'Agamemnon' as equivalent in value to the earlier Dreadnoughts built by Germany—the ships of the 'Nassau' class; and naval opinion generally supports this view, since each of these two vessels mounts four 12-inch guns and ten 9·2 guns, has an armoured belt with a maximum thickness of 12 inches, and a speed of nearly 19 knots. The Admiralty also claims the 'New Zealand' as a British ship, because it was given in reply to the German challenge; and the Dominion Government has since acquiesced—under pressure, be it remembered—in its retention in home waters.* On these assumptions by the Admiralty, which have been severely criticised, and are certainly open to criticism, the ships of the new type of the British and German Fleets, built and building, are as follows:

BRITISH.			
Dreadnought	. . . . . 1	Lions	. . . . . 2
Lord Nelsons	. . . . . 2	King George V's	. . . . . 4
Invincibles	. . . . . 3	Queen Mary	. . . . . 1
Bellerophons	. . . . . 3	Iron Dukes	. . . . . 4
St Vincents	. . . . . 3	Tiger	. . . . . 1
Neptunes	. . . . . 3	Queen Elizabeths	. . . . . 4
Indefatigable	. . . . . 1	Programmes 1913-14	. . . . . 5
Orions	. . . . . 4		—
New Zealand	. . . . . 1	Total	. . . . . 42
GERMANY.			
Nassaus	. . . . . 4	Weissenburgs	. . . . . 4
Von der Tann	. . . . . 1	Derfflinger	. . . . . 1
Ostfrieslands	. . . . . 4	Ersatz K. Augusta	. . . . . 1
Moltke	. . . . . 1	Programmes 1913-14	. . . . . 3
Kaisers	. . . . . 5		—
Goeben	. . . . . 1	Total	. . . . . 26
Seydlitz	. . . . . 1		

* The Admiralty action is contrary, of course, to the spirit which prompted the gift. The vessel was definitely presented so as to provide an additional margin of safety, and was not intended as a substitute for a British vessel.

500 WHOLE-WORLD NEEDS OF THE NAVY

A margin of 60 per cent. over the German total of 26 would be 41·6—roughly 42. Of this margin the Admiralty claims that it is necessary to keep five-sixths in home waters, so as to secure a general standard in large armoured ships in the ratio of three to two as compared with Germany. This is the basis upon which our naval resources for the whole-world defence of the Empire must be assessed; and, according to the Admiralty, the balance available for foreign service, including the Dominion ships, will be as follows:

1915	First quarter	7	1916	First quarter	10
	Second quarter	4		Second quarter	5
	Third quarter	5		Third quarter	5
	Fourth quarter	7		Fourth quarter	7

In the opinion of the Admiralty, or at least of Mr Churchill, this margin 'is quite sufficient for the year 1915'; but it is admitted that it will not be sufficient after the beginning of 1916, and it was to fill this gap that the Admiralty looked to Canada. For the moment, owing to the vote of the Senate, dominated by Sir W. Laurier's followers, the Canadian ships are not forthcoming; and the gap has been temporarily filled by the acceleration of three British ships, which, in normal circumstances, would not have been laid down until March next. Under these emergency conditions, the margin in the fourth quarter in 1915 will be raised from 7 to 10; but in the first quarter of 1916, when the Admiralty had counted upon having 13 ships—the additional three being the British ships which would then have been commissioned in normal circumstances—the margin will be only 10, while in the summer of that year there will be only 5 ships available to show the flag in the Mediterranean, the Pacific and the Atlantic.

It is obvious that this force will be ludicrously inadequate to our needs. The Admiralty does not apparently dispute this. Speaking on behalf of the Board, Mr Churchill has given two pledges. In the first place he has declared that, if the Canadian ships should definitely miscarry, 'a gap will be opened, to fill which further sacrifices will have to be made without undue delay by others.' In the second place, he has announced that, if further developments occur in the Mediterranean

or in the Pacific, beyond what was in prospect when he spoke on March 31, 1913, 'the situation will have to be reviewed.' By the temporary expedient of accelerating by six or seven months the construction of three British ships, the First Lord of the Admiralty has put off the evil day of action, but the day will come; in the spring he will have to face a crisis. It will not be of the same character as the crisis of 1909, when the people of the United Kingdom awoke to the fact that in the preceding ten years Germany had begun 24 battleships as against the 28 laid down for the British Navy; it will be a crisis Imperial in its character, bringing with it this question: Shall the British flag be shown in rightful dignity and adequate force in the outer seas?

All the British peoples will then have to determine whether they will abandon the maritime heritage which has been theirs in the past. Everything that they cherish depends upon the reply made to the renewed challenge which is being offered to British supremacy. They must decide whether they can afford to economise on naval power to such an extent that British interests must go practically undefended on the great highway to Egypt, India, and the Far East; and whether it is compatible with 'the dignity of England,' to recall Nelson's famous phrase, that hardly a single large armoured ship should ever be seen in the Pacific or the Atlantic, where the great fleets of Japan and the United States are gathering strength month by month.

It may be said that these calculations are based only upon the number of Dreadnoughts in the two fleets, and that the British Navy has a great superiority in pre-Dreadnoughts. During the debate in the House of Lords on August 5, 1913, Lord Ashley St Ledgers, the spokesman of the Admiralty, stated that 'our strength in pre-Dreadnoughts is such that, were the Dreadnoughts all to go to the bottom of the sea, our naval superiority would be very much greater than it is at present.' There is no foundation for such an assertion; and it is deplorable that it should have gone forth as the opinion of the Admiralty. As a matter of fact, we have a margin in mixed-armament battleships over Germany, but it consists of vessels laid down before the opening of this century. Before the first Dreadnought was built, we

had almost lost our lead over Germany in modern battle-ships. In the five years, 1899-1905, we laid down 16* ships to Germany's 15; and our advantage to-day is in ships which were begun before 1899, and which, under the German twenty-year limit of efficiency, will have almost disappeared by March 1920, leaving us with three pre-Dreadnoughts only to our advantage. The older ships are already of very slight war value, and must be replaced in the programmes of the next four years if their substitutes are to be completed by 1920. In other words, if we are to replace pre-Dreadnoughts by Dreadnoughts in such a proportion as to maintain our present numerical strength of 80 British battleships of all classes to 46 German, over and above the provision for the years 1914-17, we should commence not 16 ships to the German 9, but 28, so as to reach an aggregate number of 90 battleships of all types by the time when Germany has 52. The German naval authorities, according to the latest law, will reach this figure by the summer of 1920; and, if we are to hold in Dreadnoughts anything like the relative position which we have now in battleships of all types, then in the next five programmes provision must be made for five and six ships a year in rotation.† This is equivalent to an extra charge of about 5,000,000*l.* annually. If we refuse, either because it is claimed that

* Two of these ships are the 'Lord Nelson' and the 'Agamemnon,' which the Admiralty regard as Dreadnoughts, so that the figure is really fourteen and not sixteen.

† The following statement gives the figures on which this calculation is based:

	Britain.	Germany.
Pre-Dreadnoughts	38	20
Dreadnoughts, built and building	42	26
Programmes, 1914-17	16	9
Total	96	55
Pre-Dreadnoughts to be removed under twenty-year limit by 1917	18	3
Net total	78	52
Additional ships required to maintain present British strength	12	..
	90	52

we cannot afford the expenditure or because the will to do so is absent, then our relative position in battleships in 1920 will be not as 80 is to 46, as it stands to-day, but as 78 is to 52,* which will represent an advantage of only 50 per cent. Our older ships will be, on paper, of a higher fighting value; but this is not a superiority to which we can afford to confide the security of the Empire.

Moreover, the question is not one merely of armoured ships. We need a large provision of vessels of all classes—cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. The development of the Naval Air Service will also make greatly increased demands. The personnel must be largely increased. The Admiralty can obtain as many officers and men in the United Kingdom as Parliament can be induced to vote. Ships in practically any number can be built if authority is obtained. But the difficulty is financial; the burden is becoming too heavy to be borne by the British taxpayer practically unaided.

In short, from whatever political angle the subject of Imperial naval defence be regarded, it must be apparent that it demands consideration not by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom only, but also by the peoples of Greater Britain. The time has come when the question of naval defence must be reviewed, not merely in the light of Germany's activity in the North Sea, but with a full grasp of the responsibilities of the whole Empire. Every Imperial interest depends upon the issue of this new crisis; it involves the very existence of the Empire, if it is to exist, not only as a loosely-knit political organisation, but also as a closely-bound geographical unit. The unity of the seas must be preserved by the maintenance of adequate naval power, or the Empire may be shattered. The Board of Admiralty, checked as it is by political influence, has itself admitted the peril which confronts the British peoples. This confession of weakness must be interpreted not in the terms officially employed, but in the terms of the average man who walks the streets of Ottawa, Melbourne, Sydney, Cape Town and Pretoria. If the Admiralty in Whitehall, with a 60 per cent. margin in Dreadnoughts over Germany alone and a fleet

* This figure will include 58 British Dreadnoughts and 20 British pre-Dreadnoughts not more than twenty years old, as against 35 German Dreadnoughts and 17 German pre-Dreadnoughts.

on a scale of three keels to two tethered to home waters, realises and admits the danger, what must be the extent of that danger viewed by kinsmen who live on the outside limits of the Empire? Every Imperial interest, including the professional character of the Fleet, is imperilled. We, in the mother-country, it may be, cannot avoid altogether the injury which is done to the Navy by the policy of concentration in home waters, but we can mitigate it by providing, in association with the Dominions, such a margin of strength as will enable an interchange of units between the different oceans. Only thus can the character of the Navy, as a whole-world organisation of immense educational and diplomatic value, be preserved; and, only thus, with the co-operation of the Dominions, can we hope to rehoist the British flag in the outer seas and maintain the heritage which has passed into our keeping.

Next year the British Estimates, which now amount to 46,400,000*l.*, will rise to nearly 50,000,000*l.*, even if there is no further increase in the programme of armoured ships foreshadowed by the Admiralty owing to the development of the Italian and Austro-Hungarian fleets. It is a colossal sum. In 1835 the total outlay on the fleet was less than 4,500,000*l.*; and on the eve of the Naval Defence Act of 1889 the aggregate was only 13,000,000*l.* In the succeeding quarter of a century, 1889-1914, the Estimates will have nearly quadrupled; and still the race in naval armaments continues. The *per capita* charge, in 1888, with a population of 37,000,000, was just over 7*s.* per head of the population; next year it will be about 22*s.* Every interest to be defended has increased in value in the interval; and the competition of rivals in sea-power has attained an intensity which leaves us no alternative but to spend and be spent in the struggle. But the time has come when, confronted with the continued and increasing expenditure by other countries on their fleets, the question must be faced: Can we stand the drain unassisted by the oversea portions of the Empire? Including the Crown Colonies, they have a revenue equal to ours; they have white populations of about one-third that of the mother-country; yet they bear an almost negligible share of the burden. The position is an anomalous one, unfair to the British taxpayer and particularly to those millions of the people of the United

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Kingdom who live on the borderland of poverty; and it is humiliating to the young nations overseas and to the Indian Empire.

What assistance, in fact, do the Dominions and the Indian Empire give in the maintenance of a whole-world standard of naval power for the Empire? The figures are set forth in the Navy Estimates for the current year :

Total revenue	Received from.	Nature of service.	Naval Contribution.
£			£
79,250,000	India	Maintenance of H.M. ships in Indian waters	100,000
		Indian Troop Service (on account of work performed by the Admiralty)	3,400
		Repayment on account of services rendered by H.M. ships engaged in the suppression of the arms traffic in the Persian Gulf	64,000*
		Contribution on account of liability for retired pay of officers and pensions of men lent from the Royal Navy.	10,800
20,534,000	{ Australian Commonwealth .	Survey of north-west coast of Australia	7,500
27,200,000	{ Dominion of Canada. . .		
	Australian Commonwealth .	Maintenance of an Australian Squadron and of a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve	41,600†
11,032,000	{ Dominion of New Zealand. }	Maintenance of an Australian Squadron and of the Imperial Navy generally, also of a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve	100,000
17,032,000	{ Union of South Africa . . . }	General maintenance of the Navy	85,000
724,000	Newfoundland .	Maintenance of a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve .	3,000
155,773,000			415,300

This represents the direct aid which is given by the whole of the Overseas Dominions and India to the maintenance of the Royal Navy. In addition, Canada has in the past three or four years incurred charges on account of her abortive naval scheme; and the Australian Commonwealth, in pursuit of its plan for establishing a

* This is a temporary subvention and will probably not be paid after next year.

† This payment ceases after this year.

local navy, is in the present year spending 2,349,257*l*. The Australian navy is proving the most expensive in the world, as these figures show; but this is a matter for the Commonwealth, and for it only. All small fleets are costly, as the experience of the lesser Powers of the world has conclusively shown; and in the case of the Australian States the standards of living and wages are high, and are reflected in the naval expenditure. But at any rate Australia is making some provision for naval defence commensurable to her resources.

The Commonwealth is providing a local squadron; and, from henceforth, what has hitherto been known as the Australian station will cease to be a charge on the British naval funds under normal conditions of peace. The arrangements made between the Dominion Government and the Admiralty for the strategical disposition of the ships in time of war, so as to enable them to render most effective aid in defence of Imperial interests, are of course confidential. The main fact is that Australia is definitely bearing some part of the burden of Empire by the steps which she has taken in building up a fleet of her own, small though it is at present and must continue to be for some years to come.

But the main problem of the world-wide defence of Imperial interests still remains unsolved, although British expenditure next year will closely approximate to 50,000,000*l*. In spite of the contribution of a large armoured ship which has been made by the Federated Malay States, and in spite of the Canadian offer, which, if it miscarries, Mr Churchill is pledged to make good, the resources at the disposal of the Admiralty will prove inadequate, even though there be no further development on the part of other Powers. For the present, the German Act of 1912 fixes the rate of expansion of the German fleet in the immediate future; and 'Nauticus' denies any intention to bring in a new Navy Bill; but the Italian and the Austro-Hungarian Governments have already adopted new and ambitious programmes. They make provision altogether, it is understood, for eight more large armoured ships, which will raise their total strength in the Mediterranean eventually to the figure of twenty-one, including the three small Austrian Dreadnoughts recently completed. In the

Pacific the balance of power is turning against us. An influential movement is in progress in the United States for reverting to an annual programme of two battleships, in addition to other units. Japan has just commenced, or is about to commence, three more ships of the Dreadnought type, besides many smaller units. Every indication points to a continuance of the competition for naval power. The movement is not confined to European waters. The Admiralty can no longer content itself with giving a guarantee that it is developing sufficient strength to deal with one navy. The British peoples have interests in every sea; and in every sea the British flag should be shown in dignity in order to support British prestige and give confidence to British traders. No one imagines that it is politically desirable, even if the resources of the Empire sufficed for the purpose, to set up a programme of naval construction intended to compete with the programmes of all the great Powers of the world. But, on the other hand, the present standard of British construction, which keeps in view practically only the progress of one naval Power—Germany—must inevitably prove unequal to the requirements of the Empire in future years.

The problem, then, which confronts us is one of extreme gravity. The flag was withdrawn, in compelling circumstances, from the outer seas. It is now necessary, in support of every Imperial interest, that it should be replaced with as little delay as possible, without weakening the defence offered in the main strategical theatre which is marked out for us by existing political circumstances. Our ambition must be to set up a new naval standard corresponding to the extent, the population, and the wealth of the British Empire. The forty-five million people of the United Kingdom cannot bear this burden alone. They have not proved unfaithful stewards; on the contrary, year by year, they have borne uncomplainingly the increased charges which the maintenance of the Royal Navy has rendered necessary. In the future they will be handicapped by the heavy cost of the social legislation which has been introduced and carried during the past seven years by successive Liberal Governments. These charges are of a character which will take priority over the expenditure on defence. At present, when trade

is prosperous, the double burden is borne, although not without difficulty. The outlay on defence, however, in the new circumstances, cannot be indefinitely increased; and, if a reasonable formula corresponding to the Empire's needs is to be translated into ships and men, other sources of revenue besides those within the United Kingdom must be tapped.

It is unfortunate that these new and menacing naval conditions should be coming into view at a moment when the relations between the Imperial Government and the Governments of the Dominions are confused, and unity of naval policy is sadly lacking. Mr Borden having made an offer, the Canadian Senate has refused to endorse it. The Imperial Conference of 1909 having arranged a basis of co-operation for the defence of the Pacific, the Imperial Government, under the compelling force of the rivalry in Europe, has shattered it. New Zealand, having given a Dreadnought unit, which was to have acted as one of the flagships of the Pacific, finds that ship incorporated in the fleet on duty in the North Sea. The reorganisation of the East Indian Squadron, which was definitely promised in 1909, has not taken place on the lines proposed.

Such is the situation; and the time has come for further consultation. The Imperial authorities owe it to themselves to make an opportunity for laying before the Colonial representatives the springs of British policy and an explanation of the embarrassments with which they are faced. The Dominions owe it to the mother-country to define their attitude towards this new problem of Imperial defence. The only course which suggests itself is that, without unnecessary delay, a conference should be called to deal with these new and insistent problems, and particularly with the fresh naval situation which is rapidly developing. Whether the meetings should take place in this country or in British Columbia, which may be regarded as the half-way house of the Empire, is a matter for arrangement; but in any event the partners in the Empire should meet, and that speedily, to discuss the conditions of partnership.

ARCHIBALD HURD.

Art. 11.—PROFIT-SHARING.

1. *Report on Profit-Sharing and Labour Co-Partnership in the United Kingdom, by the Board of Trade (Labour Department)*. London: Wyman, 1912.
2. *Co-operative Production*. By Benjamin Jones. Two vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894.
3. *Methods of Industrial Remuneration*. By David F. Schloss. Third Edition, Revised and enlarged. London: Williams and Norgate, 1898.
4. *Économie Sociale*. Par Charles Gide (Réédition du Rapport sur l'Économie Sociale à l'Exposition Universelle de 1900). Paris: Larose et Tenin, 1905.
5. *What the Worker wants*. The 'Daily Mail' Enquiry. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912.
6. *Co-partnership in Industry*. By C. R. Fay. Cambridge: University Press, 1913.

DURING the last few years much has been heard in this country of Profit-Sharing. It has been widely advocated as a remedy for industrial unrest; and, where it has not been pointed to as a panacea, it has been commended as at any rate 'worth trying.' So short is the memory of the public that profit-sharing is frequently regarded as an absolutely new idea. The fact is that profit-sharing has already had a history of half a century of experiments; and the great majority of these experiments have been failures. The real beginning of profit-sharing in practice goes back to 1865; the isolated agricultural attempt of 1829, which now figures in all the official lists, may be left out of account. In 1865 six profit-sharing schemes were set on foot, and a like number in the following year; and, with the exception of 1869, 1875, 1877 and 1879, every subsequent year has seen the initiation of one or more new experiments. The Board of Trade Report recently issued gives the figures down to August 1, 1912. If we omit the schemes introduced in the last ten years, as having too short an experience to assure us of their durability, we find that, out of 212 schemes started between 1865 and 1905, only 60 were in operation in 1912. Even more significant are the figures for a period of industrial unrest closely resembling in

some respects that through which we are now passing—the period of the Dockers' Strike and of the Labour Commission. Then, as now, profit-sharing was in the air; and in the years 1889-92 approximately 87 firms introduced it, in some shape or other, into their businesses. Of these schemes only 19 were still in operation in 1912.

Such an historical retrospect is obviously not very encouraging. Yet the situation has changed of late in more than one important respect, in relation both to the theory and to the practice of profit-sharing; and some of these changes may fairly be regarded as conducive to success. Moreover, there is to-day one whole field of industry in which profit-sharing may claim to be conspicuously successful; it is almost universal in the business of gas-making, when carried on by companies and not by municipalities. In spite, then, of the failures of the past, the profit-sharing idea certainly deserves fresh and sympathetic consideration.

One of the greatest weaknesses in the profit-sharing of last generation lay in what its most authoritative advocates regarded as its fundamental principle. Employers were urged to give their work-people a share in the profits of their businesses because, among other reasons, it would cost them nothing. The policy, it was represented, would necessarily call forth so much greater zeal and interest in their work on the part of the employees, so much new care and economy in the use of materials, tools and power—in short, so much extra service of one kind or another—that an extra profit would be realised; and it was from this extra profit that the work-people would be rewarded. Mr Sedley Taylor, the foremost English exponent of the principles of profit-sharing, put this proposition with the utmost clearness before the Industrial Remuneration Conference in 1885:

‘The rationale of profit-sharing is a very simple and obvious one. We may safely assume that a man who knows that the excellence of the work which he performs has a direct influence on the remuneration to be received for it, will make far more zealous efforts than one who has no such assurance. . . . This expectation, that a direct interest in ultimate results will stimulate to improved exertions, and thus open an entirely new source of profit, is the economic basis on which the participating system rests.’

But this 'stimulus principle' or 'incentive principle,' attractive as it seems at first glance, is really open to the gravest objections. The way in which it was commonly carried out is thus stated by the same writer :

'Under successful participation, additional profits, due to the more zealous efforts of the work-people, are realised. A part only of this surplus is, as a rule, allotted to labour.'

A common plan was to assign to the employer, as initial rate of profit, that profit which he had actually been receiving on an average of the last few years (or sometimes even a rate distinctly higher), and then to divide among the work-people one half of any excess profit above that figure. This policy of offering to the work-people part only of the new profit was defended on the ground that the retained portion could properly be regarded as a contribution towards the employer's losses in bad years. But it was naturally not always easy to make the work-people view the matter in the same light.

Even supposing no friction to arise on this score, there are still more fatal defects in the principle as a working policy. Whether a concern makes a profit or not depends not only on the efficiency of the work-people, but also on the commercial judgment of the management and on the general business situation, both with regard to trade generally and with regard to the particular industry. In most businesses—in almost all businesses, indeed, except those which enjoy something of a monopoly—the commercial management is the most important element of success. To apply to such businesses the stimulus theory of profit-sharing is to ask the work-people to give an extra service for which they may or may not ultimately be rewarded ; for which, indeed, they will only be paid if the commercial management is successful ; and with that they have nothing to do. A year or two in which, on account of bad trade, there is either no distribution of profits at all or only a trivial bonus, will be quite enough to destroy any new-born zeal with which the work-people may at first have thrown themselves into the scheme.

It may be observed that the average pecuniary gain to work-people in profit-sharing businesses has, in the past, amounted, at the most, to an addition of between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and

5½ per cent. to their wages. To be more precise, in the two periods for which the statisticians of the Board of Trade have calculated a figure—1865-93 and 1901-11—the average increase was 4·4 for the former and 5·5 for the latter. Probably these figures were not a little in excess of the real average amount; for a great many concerns made no return on this point, and had to be left out of the reckoning. The addition of even a shilling in the pound to wages all round at the end of the year presents no great inducement to go on taking unwonted trouble. And of course it was by no means all round. In the depressed years 1894-96, for instance, from a quarter to a third of the profit-sharing firms distributed no bonus at all.

Another reflection is suggested by a slight knowledge of human nature. The men in a shop are of very differing grades of intelligence and public spirit, and feel different degrees of confidence in their employers. When there actually is a bonus, it is usually impracticable to distribute it on any other basis than that of individual wages earned. In proportion to their wages, therefore, the slacker or more careless men benefit just as much as the more alert or careful; and, unless those who are responsive to the stimulus form the great majority and are able more or less to coerce the rest, they will soon get tired of taking special trouble for the benefit largely of companions who refuse to bestir themselves.

For these several reasons we are not surprised to find that one of the commonest explanations given by employers in the past for the abandonment of profit-sharing after a few years' trial has been 'lack of interest' on the part of their men. And it is significant that in the revival of enthusiasm for profit-sharing in recent months the incentive principle has fallen quite into the background. Employers now introducing profit-sharing may entertain, no doubt, a more or less reasonable expectation that the policy will tend to pleasanter relations with their work-people, and will lessen the interruption of production due to disputes; and that in this way it will promote greater economy of production, and therefore, *ceteris paribus*, larger profits. But they will no longer say outright that the profit they propose to distribute is one the men have themselves to make. Indeed, not a few of them are now ready to make some sacrifice of the profit they might

fairly count upon in the absence of such a scheme, if only the plan will promote good feeling on the part of the work-people.

Side by side with the modification of principle has come a modification of motive. In the earlier decades employers who adopted profit-sharing usually did not hesitate to state that their object was to defeat or prevent trade-unionism. Thus, concerning the famous experiment (1865-74) at the collieries of Messrs Briggs, near Normanton—the first notable example of profit-sharing in this country—we are frankly informed in a memorandum (Schloss, p. 282) subsequently drawn up by the firm itself that—

‘Messrs Briggs had hoped that profit-sharing would be accepted by their workmen as a substitute for trade union organisation, they, on their part, abstaining from joining any combination of employers for the regulation of wages.’

When, in 1872, the managing director actually issued a notice that men who stayed away from work to attend a great demonstration of the Miners’ Union would forfeit all claim to bonus for the future, it became evident that, now the men had to choose between the union and the scheme, the scheme must go to the wall.

For the Briggs’ policy there was something to be said. Collective bargaining, with recourse to strikes and lock-outs as ultimate sanctions, is not so comfortable an arrangement that we can refuse a certain sympathy to those who clung to more patriarchal ideals, especially at a time when trade-unionism had not yet shown, so clearly as it does to-day, that, in most of the staple industries at all events, it had come to stay.

In America, where people are apt to be more ruthlessly logical, the hostility between profit-sharing in its earlier days and trade-unionism was proclaimed still more loudly; and it was frequently evidenced by the enforcement of a ‘cast-iron pledge’ not to join a labour union. And, nearer our own days, the South Metropolitan Gas Company under Sir George Livesey—whose success may be said to have initiated the second period of profit-sharing—made it for twelve years a condition for participating in profits, and for being employed, that the workman should sign a declaration to the effect that he was not a member

of the Gas Workers' Society. Whatever justification there may once have been for this attitude, by 1902 it was felt by many admirers of Sir George Livesey that it was open to a certain criticism, and in any case endangered public sympathy. Accordingly, in that year, the Labour Co-partnership Association, which proposed to enter upon a public propaganda in favour of profit-sharing on Sir George Livesey's lines, induced the Gas Company to withdraw the restriction. It may safely be said that no large employer in England, starting a scheme of profit-sharing to-day, would impose such a condition, or indeed, if he could help it, say anything uncomplimentary about trade unions at all. Some of the literary advocates of profit-sharing, under its new name and form of 'labour co-partnership,' now point out that profit-sharing does not render trade-unionism superfluous, for this simple reason: the distributed profit is but an addition to the standard wage, and that standard wage has still to be adjusted somehow. Messrs Briggs, in their retrospective memorandum, were clear-sighted enough to perceive the reason why their miners turned to the union five-and-forty years ago:

'In 1868 a growing desire to join the union began to manifest itself, on the ground that, as the company agreed to pay the average weekly wages of the district as well as a share in the profits, and as the union tended to raise these wages, it was to the interest of the workmen to join in that endeavour.'

Whether, in their heart of hearts, all profit-sharing employers recognise the continued need for unionism or no, anti-unionism is no longer openly avowed, and this certainly removes one great stumbling-block in the way of the acceptance of profit-sharing by the working classes.

Nor has it been only theory that has been lately modified; practice also has undergone an interesting change. Until recently the commonest method in England of distributing the bonus, or extra remuneration which fell to the work-people under a profit-sharing scheme, was by payment in actual cash, which the recipient could spend as he pleased. In France, on the contrary, it has been very usual to devote the whole or a large part of the bonus to a provident fund from which the workman

could only draw after a prescribed and protracted period of service; if he left earlier, by his choice or fault, he forfeited all claim on the fund. The purpose was to attach employees to the particular concern, not so much against trade union seducements as against the offers of rival employers. In the case of insurance companies this latter motive, for obvious reasons, has been peculiarly strong. The plan has the grave disadvantage, in the eyes of critics from the labour side, that it greatly lessens the independence of the employee; on the other hand it owes its considerable success, in certain classes of business, to the French passion for saving.

Of late years in England the plan has been introduced of investing the whole or part of the worker's share of profit in the capital of the concern employing him, and giving him therewith the ordinary rights and responsibilities of a shareholder. The example set by Sir George Livesey in this respect has been followed by most of the recent new schemes, and among them by all those proceeding from gas companies. There is great diversity of detail, but the principle is the same; viz. to make the workman not merely a workman but also a small capitalist, and to interest him not only in the excess profit of the concern that employs him but also in its dividend to shareholders. This is what is now specifically known as Labour Co-partnership; and this is the direction the profit-sharing movement is likely to take in this country for some time to come.

The particular shape in which the workman's share of profits under a scheme actually reaches him is not, as we shall see later, really of fundamental importance. The main obstacles to the success of profit-sharing are the same under all forms. Co-partnership, in the sense explained above, has some attractive features peculiar to itself, and on the other side it has some special limitations and difficulties. It is a form of compulsory saving, and this appeals to a certain type of worker; it makes the benefits accruing to him, if the concern is prosperous, cumulative year by year; it attaches him doubly, as workman and as shareholder, to the fortunes of his employers. On the other hand, it is by no means all kinds of business that can permit of a continual addition to capital account by means of

employees' shares. The managing-director of a large confectionery firm has put the difficulty very clearly :

'During the sixteen years our profit-sharing scheme has been in force we have paid in bonuses more than twice the amount of our ordinary capital, and we couldn't, if we wanted to, find employment for such an accumulation of capital as these bonuses represent. With a gas company, which is always increasing its mains and adding to capital account, it is different. We want to keep our capital account as low as possible.' (Board of Trade Report, p. 12.)

When such addition to capital is in fact feasible, it is by no means all concerns that are desirable investments for their workmen's savings. And, lastly, it is not always easy to provide for the realisation of such investments if their holders should desire to leave their present employment, or if they should wish to make use of their savings in the purchase of a house, the provision of insurance, support in sickness, the higher education of their children, or for any other reasonable purpose.

This last remark is made on the assumption that the case is one of Labour Co-partnership in the sense above defined, i.e. that it is a case in which the worker's share of profit is so invested as to give him 'the rights and responsibilities of a shareholder.' This definition or description is borrowed by the Board of Trade report from a widely circulated Memorandum issued in October 1911 by 'some distinguished advocates of the system.' And it tallies with the actual practice in the chief exemplar of the method, viz. the South Metropolitan Gas Company. Here the workmen must invest at least one half of the bonus in the Company's stock; and they are forbidden to sell or pledge this stock while in the service of the Company unless by permission, which is given for reasonable cause. But if they leave the employment of the Company, for whatever reason, they can either receive from the Company the value of their stock or they can take it with them and dispose of it as they think fit. It is true that these workmen are mostly bound by a twelve months' contract of service; and breach of contract makes them liable to criminal prosecution under the legislation specially applying to gas and water undertakings. They are, therefore, not likely to leave

hastily; and by leaving they lose, of course, the benefit of any future bonuses they might have received in the Company's service. But they are not further tied to the Company by the prospect of losing past bonuses, whether transformed into stock or deposited as savings, if they leave its employment. 'Such a further restriction, indeed, would seem to be quite inconsistent with the definition of co-partnership already given. Among the signatories, however, of the memorandum from which it is taken appears the name of Sir William Lever. So that it is curious to observe that this very restriction is characteristic of the interesting scheme introduced in 1909 into Lever Brothers, Limited, Soap Manufacturers, of Port Sunlight, and the Associated Companies. The 'partnership certificates' issued under that scheme to employees with 'a clear record of at least five years' faithful and loyal service' entitle the recipients to a generous share of all profits after the payment of 5 per cent. on ordinary stock and certain other charges. But, under the terms of the trust deed,

'The partnership certificates . . . shall be cancelled (i) In the case of . . . an employee, if he shall, in the opinion of the trustees' [i.e. the directors] 'be guilty of neglect of duty, . . . wilful misconduct, . . . disloyalty to his employers or breach of his undertaking not to waste time, labour, materials or money in the discharge of his duties . . . and whether he shall resign or be discharged from his employment in consequence thereof. . . . Any employee may appeal from the decision of the trustees to the holder of the majority shares of the company' [i.e. Sir W. H. Lever], 'whose decision shall be final and binding. (ii) If the employment shall cease, if a man, before he attains the age of 65 years or, if a woman, before she attains the age of 60 years, by voluntary retirement or resignation, and not owing to . . . ill-health.'

On reaching the age for retirement, the partnership certificates are exchanged for 'preferential certificates' bearing 5 per cent. interest. But these are only available to the holder and his widow during their lifetime; they cannot be sold or charged; and the holder may enter into no other employment without the previous consent of the directors.

The Port Sunlight scheme is of a curiously patriarchal character for modern times. It closely resembles the

'forfeiture clause' in the French insurance companies' schemes; and, as with the French companies, a sincere desire for the material and moral well-being of the employees is doubtless combined with a desire for business reasons to attach them to the service of the company. It seems that of the 9000 persons employed by Lever Brothers and the Associated Companies at the end of 1911—the last date for which the Board of Trade Report gives the figures—1448 had received partnership (or, in some cases already, preferential) certificates. This is a very substantial permanent *noyau* of a working force. And on this Mr Fay, in his book on co-partnership (p. 89), makes the following shrewd observations:

'Would-be imitators must have regard to the nature of the soap-making industry. For in modern industry an employee may be specialised in two ways: first, with reference to the skill required in a particular grade of his industry, and secondly, with reference to the practices of the firm by which he is employed. Specialisation of the latter order is likely to be important in industries occupied by firms which make, and possibly have been pioneers in making, articles of a proprietary order, of which Sunlight soap is a notable example. In such industries employers will gain by having round them for a long period of years workers who know their special ways and have an inkling of their secrets. Conversely, loss of service in a particular firm may mean to the worker a serious diminution of his market value. In such businesses, therefore, the permanent ties which this kind of co-partnership involves are particularly likely to be of mutual benefit.'

It may be worth while at this point to notice that, as profit-sharing is not necessarily labour co-partnership in the specialised sense of the term, so a scheme may be called co-partnership without really being based on profit-sharing at all. This was the case with the scheme proposed by Lord Furness in 1908 to the workmen in the Hartlepool yards of the Irvine Shipbuilding Company. It will be remembered that this was accepted by the work-people on the advice of the trade union leaders but abandoned by them on the same advice, after a year's trial, by a vote of 598 to 492. Under this scheme, in return for a promise not to strike, the work-people were permitted to buy at par a new class of shares, called Employees' Shares, by instalments of 5 per cent. deduc-

tions from their ordinary wages, On these shares they were guaranteed 4 per cent. to start with, *plus* such dividend as might remain for them, as for other shareholders, after a 5 per cent. cumulative dividend had been provided for the ordinary shares. It is open to argument whether this was in fact a specially attractive business proposition. The slow piecemeal purchase of shares involved doubtless some expense to the company; in return, however, the men were asked to surrender the right to strike for the defence or improvement of the existing wage rate. Perhaps it is hardly necessary to consider the financial aspects of the plan, because it is pretty clear that it was not mainly for financial reasons that the men threw it over. What does need to be emphasised is that there was here absolutely no sharing of profits with the work-people as such. They received nothing from profits until they bought stock, and they had to buy stock out of their ordinary wages. That gratitude which may possibly be looked for when an employer voluntarily gives up part of the profit remaining to him after the payment of standard wages was naturally not to be elicited by a bargain of so very different a character.

Before we look at certain general considerations on the subject, it is necessary to return to Sir George Livesey's really very considerable achievement, to which we have hitherto only made a passing allusion. In the teeth of trade union opposition and by victorious opposition to a strike, Sir George Livesey established in 1889-90, and the South Metropolitan Gas Company has since maintained, a profit-sharing scheme which has not only improved the material position of the workpeople, but has also effectually prevented any interruption in the working of a concern employing now some 6000 men. In 1894 the plan was introduced of investing half the bonus in stock of the company. By 1907-8 the example thus set and the vigorous advocacy of its champion had won over a large number of the managers of British gas companies. Twelve companies in 1908 and nine in 1909—including the Gas Light and Coke Company of London, which employs some 11,000 persons and is probably the largest in the world—introduced schemes modelled on that of the South Metropolitan. Other companies

followed suit, until by June 1912 there were 33 profit-sharing companies in Great Britain, manufacturing half the gas not made by municipalities. To-day it looks as if the plan would soon be in operation over the whole field of company gas production.

The gas industry presents a quite exceptionally favourable field for the experiment. The several companies enjoy, each in its own area, both a legal and a physical monopoly of the supply of gas. They are exposed, it is true, to the competition of other illuminants, especially oil and electricity; but oil is everywhere yielding to gas for lighting purposes, and, in working-class neighbourhoods, the competition of electricity for domestic purposes is not likely to be felt for a long time to come. This means that a profit, and, what is still more to the point, a regular and steady profit, can be reasonably counted upon. The rate of dividend payable to shareholders in gas companies is strictly limited by legislation. For instance, in the South Metropolitan Company's case the dividend is limited to 4 per cent. when gas is selling at 3s. 1d. per 1000 feet; in the case of the Gas Light and Coke Company, when at 3s. 2d. per 1000. It is not possible, as it is in other concerns, to keep down the nominal dividend by inflating the nominal capital, since all new issues of stock must be put up to auction and a return made of the sums actually invested. Above the prescribed limit the dividend can legally be increased only if the price is reduced to the consumer—at the rate of $\frac{1}{8}$ th per cent. additional dividend for every penny per 1000 feet decrease in price. Since the demand for gas is comparatively inelastic, the cost cannot be reduced, as in some other businesses, by distributing expenses over a larger output; a reduction can be made only by economy of working. To economical production the workmen can contribute to no small extent; and they have not to fear lest the fruits of their zeal should be sacrificed, as has often happened in other businesses, on account of the mismanagement or ill-luck of the selling department. A plan therefore, by which, for every reduction found possible in the selling price of gas below some fixed point, an increasing bonus is paid to labour *pari passu* with a higher dividend to shareholders, promotes the interests alike of shareholders and consumers, while

it furnishes a visible and secure stimulus and reward to the workmen. In a memorandum furnished to the Royal Commission on Labour in 1893, Sir (then Mr) George Livesey summed up his conclusion as to one side of the arrangement very succinctly :

'The bonus, amounting to about 10,000*l.* a year on the average, costs the company nothing, the whole amount being saved by the cheerful and good working of its servants; it is, therefore, good business and not philanthropy.'

The men employed by the South Metropolitan Company, now numbering 6000 or thereabouts, held last year stock in the Company to the extent of some 300,000*l.*—a considerable sum in itself, though only about one-twenty-eighth of the total capital of the concern; and they received a bonus of 8½ per cent. on wages. These are solid inducements to stick to the Company. But, if by any chance the men should become restive, with or without reason, and should not be satisfied by the guarantees for good treatment furnished by the presence of the two workmen-directors on the Board of ten, or by the existence of the joint Co-partnership Committee, then they must either submit or leave the Company's service. Not only do the men sign a twelve months' agreement, binding on both sides, but, as Mr Schloss ('Methods of Industrial Remuneration,' p. 284) points out,

'care has been taken to make the agreements signed by the workman expire at different dates for different men; and, since the breach of these agreements would, it must be remembered, be liable to be punished by legal pains and penalties of a vigorous character, any such simultaneous cessation of work by the whole body of employees as is involved in a strike would entail almost insuperable difficulties.'

Nor should it be forgotten that the great body of gas-workers are unskilled or semi-skilled men, and that among such a class it must always be more difficult to create and maintain an effective combination than among skilled workmen.

Six circumstances, then, have contributed to the success of profit-sharing in the gas business, viz. monopoly, solid capitalisation, a legal limitation of dividends of such a nature as to associate economy of production with the shareholder's interests, practical

security to the work-people that their zeal will in fact be rewarded, a stringent legal restraint of breach of contract, and the absence or weakness of unionism. Where like circumstances are present in other industries, profit-sharing may be expected to meet with like success; but over by far the greater part of the field of labour most of these conditions are conspicuously absent, and in their absence other forces come to the front and must be taken into account.

In almost all the staple trades of the country—in all those, in fact, in which there are a considerable number of competitive concerns in the same industry—the first and chief consideration to be borne in mind is that profit-sharing is sure to be opposed, more or less openly, by the leaders of trade-unionism. They have, indeed, no choice in the matter. As human nature is mixed, some personal self-seeking may mingle with worthier motives on both sides, and more will be imputed. There will be a natural tendency for employers whose well-meant schemes are put in jeopardy to ascribe jealousy to union officials; just as there will be a natural tendency for the latter to exaggerate the defects of any scheme put before them, and ‘to fear the Greeks even when they bring presents.’ The unfortunate truth is that, the more a trade-union leader is true to union principles, the more he is bound to put obstacles in the way of a profit-sharing scheme; and the better the scheme is for the particular men concerned, the more necessary is it to prevent its success from the union point of view.

Profit-sharing and trade-unionism rest on two mutually exclusive principles and involve two incompatible policies. Profit-sharing rests on the assumption of a solidarity, or community of interest, between the employer and the employed in each particular business concern; trade-unionism rests on the assumption of a solidarity, or community of interest, between all the workmen of a trade, face to face with, if not in opposition to, all the employers of the trade. Profit-sharing, accordingly, fixes its attention on the gains made by each several concern, and proposes a plan for their division; trade-unionism fixes its attention on the gains made by the trade as a whole, and seeks to secure as large a share as possible for labour in the form of the highest obtainable

standard rate of wages, over the whole range of the industry, irrespective of the exceptional good or ill fortune of particular concerns. To defend and improve the general standard rate, trade-unionism finds common action on the part of the whole body of the men in the industry absolutely necessary. This may not always involve participation by all in a general strike, but it will always at least involve contribution by all to the general strike fund. Anything that seriously threatens to weaken the sense of fellowship, of practical sympathy, of common interest with the rest of the trade among the work-people in a particular concern, even the creation of 'a little heaven below,' is necessarily suspect to the union official. It may be inexpedient to declare it, but it is undoubtedly true that from the point of view of unionism it is quite justifiable, though regrettable, to sacrifice the material interests of a particular group of men, if there is a reasonable prospect of subserving thereby the material interests of the much larger body of which they form part.

The force of reasoning such as this will naturally depend on the strength of labour organisation in the trade in question. Where a union exists which includes, or effectively represents, the great body of the men employed by the concern which has the plan under consideration, it would be folly to introduce a profit-sharing scheme. From the point of view of the concern itself, this will be a conclusion of practical common-sense, a simple yielding to *force majeure*. But from the point of view of public expediency there would be much to be said for preferring unionism, even if a choice were possible between unionism and profit-sharing, and this in spite of the only too visible disadvantages attached to unionism. For the concentration of effort on the enforcement and elevation of the standard wage in any industry, the decision to make the general profit of the trade and not the particular profit of each several concern govern the rate of remuneration, has the effect of penalising the less efficient employers and gradually eliminating them from the field of production. It tends to elevate the level of business management; that is to say, it tends to the greatest net product. And it is from the sum of national production that both profits and wages are drawn.

Moreover, the weakening of unionism, paradoxical as it may sound, weakens the necessary basis for industrial peace in the only direction in which it is likely to be secured nowadays, i.e. the direction of collective agreement. Of late, unfortunately, trade agreements have been broken in certain conspicuous cases. In their not altogether unjustifiable annoyance, employers have sometimes been inclined to abandon the method of negotiation and compact, and to rely on brute economic strength. But such is not the attitude of the wiser captains of industry in this country. And, on the side of labour, no trade-union leader of any authority has been found to justify the breach of industrial agreement, whatever mitigation of severe judgment he may feel inclined to urge in particular instances. Few things have been more remarkable than the way in which, during recent months, the soberer and more influential men on both sides have set themselves to work to re-establish and improve the machinery for joint agreement that had temporarily broken down. The machinery has to be enlarged and rendered more elastic; above all, it has to be expedited in its action, so that the advantages of delay may not accrue to one side only. But whatever else may be necessary for the effective working of Joint Boards or Conferences, it is surely a commonplace that effective combination is the prime requisite—a requisite, it should be added, on both sides. The need of united action on the part of employers can here only be referred to in passing; it is the main lesson of the recent troubles in the Port of London. As to the men, it is clear that, the more a union includes the experienced and better-circumstanced workmen of the trade, the more reasonable its demands are likely to be, and the more the officials will be able to carry their constituents with them, and have the necessary influence, when once an agreement has been made, to see that it is carried out. Industrial peace in a single establishment, if it means the detachment of its work-people from the corporate efforts of their fellows, may be dearly paid for in industrial conflict outside.

The conclusion as to the weakness of the profit-sharing position, to which we are brought by this general survey of the industrial situation, is confirmed by practical considerations when we come to look more closely into the

profit-sharing proposals themselves. The whole question of the remuneration of labour is, of course, the question of the division of the proceeds of industry between the elements which have contributed to its production. In a community thoroughly permeated by democratic feeling, the division can only be effected by bargaining; and, as we all know, in industries in which large bodies of men are engaged in substantially the same sort of employment, it cannot be a matter of individual bargaining; it must be settled, in some way, collectively. Now collective bargaining is a troublesome affair, needing time and knowledge, sympathy and tact; and it is often painfully unsatisfactory. There is a great temptation to look round for some fixed criteria, some quasi-mechanical data, the adoption of which will render unnecessary the painful collision of opposing human wills. It is the hope of doing this which constitutes the attraction of profit-sharing for many minds. Let us listen to Earl Grey in his Presidential Address to the Labour Co-partnership Association:

'If there should be surplus profits available for division after labour has received its fixed reward—viz., trade union rate of wages—and after capital has received its fixed reward—viz., the rate of interest agreed upon as the fair remuneration of capital; I say, if, after these two initial charges have been met, there should still be left surplus profits to distribute, that instead of their going exclusively to capital they should be distributed between labour and capital on some principle of equity.'

Unfortunately industrial life is nothing like as simple as this brief prescription would seem to imply. If the work-people are such as are usually unorganised—young persons, women or clerks—and docile from temperament or necessity, they will hardly look gift horses in the mouth; and it will be a pleasing sight when, as Mr Fay puts it, 'the female employees of a benevolent patron cheer as their sisters are called up to receive a handshake and a postal order.' But it is not for such as these that profit-sharing is most zealously advocated. And if it is with adult men of independent temper that one has to deal, profit-sharing does but substitute for a single source of friction—the one bargain as to the rate of wages—the possibility of half-a-dozen. For every single element in

Earl Grey's formula lends itself to dispute and suspicion. To begin with, 'the trade union rate of wages' may be 'fixed' in the sense of being settled for the moment, but it is fixed in no other sense. From time to time the union will seek to raise it, and the masters to lower it, according as trade prospers or declines. (In theory it may seem possible sharply to distinguish between wages and bonus, and to provide that the rule determining the bonus shall be unaffected by the adjustment of 'the initial charge' involved in wages. But everybody who knows anything of masters or men must realise that psychologically this is an almost impossible situation.)

Similarly as to capital. Its reward may be 'fixed,' in the sense of being set down in a proposed scheme, but it is fixed in no other sense. For first, what is the 'capital' on which it is to be reckoned? Are the workmen sure to acquiesce in the nominal capitalisation of a concern? And, if we are clear as to the 'capital,' are we clear as to the sense we intend for 'profits'? Presumably it does not include management expenses and directors' salaries. Here is another opportunity for disagreement. The men are hardly likely to accept always without criticism the valuation which the management puts upon its own services. Assume, however, there is no difficulty about the definition of 'capital' or 'profits'; how is the rate of interest on capital to be settled? Earl Grey gives this explanation:

'In a co-partnership business, just as the reward of labour is fixed by the trade union rate of wages, so the reward of capital is fixed by the amount which it is necessary for the industry to give. . . . If the industry is a safe one it will be able to obtain the capital required by giving a small interest; if the industry is a risky one, it will be necessary to offer capital better terms.'

This is all true in the long run; and to an observer looking back it will be visible perhaps that such and such an interest had to be paid to obtain the required capital. But how are the work-people going to be assured that just the particular rate proposed in the scheme is that 'necessary' for the industry to give? The initial rate assigned to capital in profit-sharing schemes in the past has varied enormously. Ten per cent. has been common;

and the rate has seldom been below five. Even to-day people talk glibly of 5 per cent., as if capital had a sort of natural right to it, regardless of the fact that safe debentures do not now bring in more than about 4. Moreover, if the initial charge in the shape of wages is to vary—and we have seen that this is inevitable in a strongly unionised industry—should not the initial charge in the shape of interest vary also, in accordance with the fluctuation in ‘the value of money’ as indicated, let us say, by the yield on government securities?

Grant, however, that the ‘two initial charges,’ wages and interest, have been satisfactorily ‘fixed,’ will the simple deduction of these from gross profits, with perhaps an allowance for management, determine the ‘surplus profits available for division’? Surely not. Every accountant knows the perplexities lurking in the word ‘available.’ Depreciation must of course be allowed for as a working expense; will the men always be satisfied with the amount set apart for it? Over and above depreciation are ‘reserves’ proper. And are directors to be left free to engage in expenditure out of gross profits for the sake of improvements or enlargements? Narrating the history of the Briggs experiment, Mr Jones says that in 1873

‘the Whitwell Main Colliery was bought for 55,000*l.*, and 30,000*l.* of the purchase money was provided out of the year’s profit. This 30,000*l.* was allotted to the existing shareholders in the form of a new issue of shares, and thus the men were deprived of their portion of it, which would have been 15,000*l.* In 1874 . . . in addition to the sums divided, large amounts were placed to depreciation and reserve funds, altogether out of proportion to what is usual; and the men were thereby deprived of the share which ought to have come to them as bonus. In the two years 1873–4 the reserve was increased by 26,600*l.*; and in the three years 1873–4–5 “stores, repairs, renewals and depreciation” were credited with 151,377*l.*’ (*Co-operative Production*, p. 497.)

I cite this example with no sort of desire to criticise Messrs Briggs; for all I know, their policy may have been altogether wise, in view of the lean years that were reasonably to be expected and did actually soon arrive. Nor do I suppose that any profit-sharing company would proceed in quite this lordly way without a word of warning to their work-people. I cite it to illustrate the

necessity in modern industry of being prepared for the inevitable needs of sound business finance. These needs are extremely difficult to calculate beforehand and provide for in a scheme. On the other hand, the management cannot be left free to cope with them just as they see fit, if they profess to give their work-people a share of profits. Whatever is done, there is bound to be dissatisfaction among the men on this head. The rate of wages is a thing everyone can understand and appreciate; it is a very different matter to ask men to acquiesce in large expenditures out of profit in the hope that these may ultimately lead to a higher bonus (if not for themselves, for their successors) at some time in the future.

And finally—though the reader is probably weary by this time of the dissection of Earl Grey's formula—even if we safely surmount all other difficulties and arrive, with cheerful acquiescence on the part of employees, at the figure of 'surplus profits available for division,' who can tell us what is the permanently satisfactory 'principle of equity' on which the division shall be made, or rather who shall permanently satisfy the workmen? We can slide over this difficulty in a speech by lightly referring to 'some' principle of equity; but in a practical scheme the word 'some' has to be turned into a definite percentage. Profit-sharing in itself furnishes no principle or rule as to the size of the respective shares of the joint product; it raises a whole series of fresh difficulties in adjusting each part—the standard wage and the bonus—of the total remuneration of labour; and it creates new sources of bitterness. The failure of a profit-sharing scheme is worse, in some ways, than a strike. The employers are almost certain to be vexed at the ungrateful return to their generosity; the workmen are equally likely to think they have been tricked under the guise of philanthropy.

The problem of profit-sharing is part of a much wider issue. 'How to be a good employer' is a question coming to weigh more and more not only on the consciences but also on the business judgment of those who are responsible for the conduct of industry, whether as directors or as mere shareholders. The time is past when all the real brain of management could be expediently or comfortably devoted to the capture of the market or the perfecting

of the manufacturing process. But before deciding just what an enlightened employer should set about doing, it is worth while to look all round the situation and consider where we stand to-day in social development.

In his instructive review of social movements in France, M. Gide, the distinguished economist, who can certainly not be accused of want of sympathy with efforts in the nature of profit-sharing, permits himself ('*Economie Sociale*,' p. 57) a suggestive generalisation:

'In countries whose economic education is far advanced, benevolent institutions emanating from employers (*institutions patronales*) find themselves, as it were, driven back at both ends at the same time; from below, by the development of workmen's associations, providing for their own wants from their own resources; from above, by the intervention of the State, taking the place of the employers in the name of the public interest.'

This is very true. It indicates a tendency which is likely to continue; and this probability should not be forgotten by employers who can look ahead. They need not adopt a policy of doing nothing. They will find, many of them, that they can do a great deal towards improving the salubrity and convenience of their workshops. By a better organisation of labour within the works, and by providing a reasonable opportunity of appeal from the petty tyranny of underlings, they may remove many causes of irritation. They will often have large opportunities of helping forward the education of the rising generation by making attendance at continuation schools a condition of employment; and they may well consider whether this schoolwork will not have a better chance if it is allowed to encroach on the working day. If they employ much boy labour, they may turn their attention to the serious evils of 'blind alley' employment; and, if they discover that they make use of a surplus of juvenile labour which can neither continue in their employ at adult wages nor be readily absorbed into the adult labour market of the neighbourhood, they can seriously consider whether they cannot economise in this type of service. If they employ casual labour, they can at least try to cut down its amount. Such casual men as they cannot dispense with they can make a point of engaging through the Labour

Exchange. Where the trade itself is largely a casual one, employers can do a great deal to decasualise it by combining to organise the demand on the lines of the Tally System at the Liverpool Docks. They will almost certainly find a good deal they can do, not so much as employers but as public-spirited citizens, in improving the amenity of the neighbourhood in which their works are situated. In much of this they will find their account in the bettersort of work-people they will attract; they will at any rate enjoy the reward of a good conscience. But if they have to deal with adult men, of the average degree of independence and the usual tendency towards unionism, they will almost certainly be ill-advised if they do anything that can fairly be interpreted as interfering with the independence of their work-people or as seeking to detach them from the common interests of their class. If they wish—as they well may in very many cases—to improve the position of their work-people in the matter of remuneration, let them begin by establishing a sensible minimum wage. This may perhaps affect only a small fringe of their employees. Even so, the social effects of a living wage will be by no means inconsiderable; and, in return, employers can make a better selection and enforce better service.

Finally, if employers accept, as many of them must, the essential principle of profit-sharing in its widest sense, viz. that the work-people should share in business prosperity, let them seek to carry it out in the only form consistent with modern democratic conditions—in a form extending to the whole of the trade to which they belong. The employers of each trade are coming to be more and more associated and federated in organisations which determine the wage policy of all their members. It is perfectly possible—as the recent example of the Shipping Federation has splendidly illustrated—for such bodies, when times of prosperity come, to give a share of it to the employees of all the constituent concerns in the form of higher or supplementary rates of pay, without waiting for such increases to be angrily demanded under threat of strike. This will be real profit-sharing; it will tie no workman to any particular concern; and it will have the enormous merit of absolute simplicity.

W. J. ASHLEY.

Art. 12.—'1813'

1. *Geschichte des Herbstfeldzuges von 1813.* By Major Friederich. Berlin: Mittler, 1903-4.
2. *Geschichte des Frühjahrsfeldzuges von 1813.* By General-Leutnant Rudolf von Caemerer. Two vols. Berlin: Mittler, 1909.
3. *Illustrierte Geschichte der Befreiungskriege; ein Jubiläumswerk zur Erinnerung an die grosse Zeit vor 100 Jahren.* By Julius von Pflugk-Harttung. Berlin: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1913.
4. *Das Befreiungsjahr 1813.* Aus den Akten des Geheimen Staatsarchivs herausgegeben von Julius v. Pflugk-Harttung. Berlin: same publisher, 1913.
5. *Briefe des Generals Neidhart von Gneisenau, 1809-1815.* Herausgegeben von J. v. Pflugk-Harttung. Gotha: Perthes, 1913.
6. *Les Transformations de la Guerre.* Par J. Colin, Chef d'escadron d'artillerie à l'école supérieure de guerre. Second edition. Paris: Flammarion, 1912.
7. *La système de guerre de Napoléon: La Manœuvre sur position centrale.* Par le Général Camon. In 'Revue des Études Napoléoniennes,' May-July 1913. Paris: Alcan.

OUR old allies of 1813 beyond the North Sea are at present engaged, week by week, in celebrating the centenaries of all the greater incidents of their 'War of Liberation.' We might ourselves have been doing something of the same sort; it would, for example, have been an excellent thing to recall on June 21 the glories of Vittoria. But historical memories of this sort do not seem to appeal to the modern British mind; the crowning victory of the Peninsular War was allowed to pass by without commemoration, save at some regimental gatherings. No doubt the 'Befreiungskrieg' means much more to the German of to-day than does the Peninsular War to his British contemporary; yet we let the centenary of Trafalgar slip by almost unnoticed, and that day was no less important to us than the events of 1813 to the Prussian. With a better sense of historical perspective, our neighbours are keeping their centenaries with laudable energy. The early summer of 1813 was for them a time of chequered memories; the effort made was

heroic, yet the results were not at first all that might have been desired. But August, September and October are full of great victories, starting with Gross-Beeren (Aug. 23) and the Katzbach (Aug. 26), and ending in the four days' struggle round Leipzig—the 'Battle of the Nations' (Oct. 16-19)—which made an end of Napoleon's domination in Europe. The Germans are, very rightly, celebrating them all—even, as the newspapers inform us, the defeat of Vandamme at Kulm (Aug. 3), a fight which was (no doubt) of high strategical importance, and which wrecked the French Emperor's main plan of campaign, but in which the numbers of the victors so greatly exceeded those of the vanquished that one might have thought that national pride would have ignored it. However, the battle of Kulm had the special interest of having been gained by Russian, Prussian and Austrian troops in about equal proportions; and its commemoration could be made to serve, with good political results, as an international festival to recall memories of friendship between old allies now more or less estranged.

Among the various forms of centenary memorial which have been devised to celebrate the triumphs of 1813, books have, of course, played their part. The most solid and magnificent of those we have placed at the head of this article is Dr Julius von Pflugk-Harttung's '*Illustrierte Geschichte der Befreiungskriege.*' Reviewers have an instinctive distrust for volumes that are copiously illustrated; in their past experience they know that a plethora of plates often means hack-work in the text. The publisher who has collected a fine series of illustrations usually seems to think that any stuff will do to fill up the pages around them. There is no danger of this sort in the book that is now before us. Dr Pflugk-Harttung is a well-known specialist on the Napoleonic Wars; some of us have already read his '*Preussische Heer in 1815,*' and his '*Vorgeschichte der Schlacht bei Belle Alliance,*' two volumes full of new documents and new deductions. Many more know his chapters in the Cambridge Modern History, and are aware that he is not only a deep researcher but an historian of a singularly fair and unprejudiced mind. Indeed, his works and short studies on the Waterloo campaign may always be taken as a valuable corrective to the larger but far less well-

balanced volumes of Lettow-Vorbeck, the official annalist of the Prussian General Staff, who leaves much to be desired in his treatment of Wellington's doings in 1815.

In this large 'Geschichte der Befreiungskriege,' Dr Pflugk-Harttung gives us a full summary of the two campaigns of 1813 in Saxony and Silesia, followed by additional chapters on a smaller scale, dealing, one with the invasion of France in the subsequent year, the other with the Hundred Days. His deep and thorough knowledge of the detail of these wars has not tempted him to plunge into minute analyses of marches and manoeuvres or long tables of statistics. It is impossible, of course, to compress into 400 pages—even if they be large ones—a detailed chronicle of a singularly complicated struggle waged by very large armies on a very broad field of operations. The smaller military side-issues have to be passed over with a light hand, but the main thread of the narrative is delightfully clear and convincing; and, when we find any statement that surprises us, we can be certain that it is not irresponsible hypothesis, but the result of newly-discovered documents that is being presented to us. Most especially do we desire to note the honesty of the historian's attitude. This is not a book that glosses over failures and defeats in order to fall in with the patriotic legend of 1813. Nor does it sin from the courtier's desire to make the head of the house of Hohenzollern an heroic figure, heading his people in a majestic attitude, as some official works still do. Frederick William III, half-hearted and with the memory of Tilsit still weighing heavy on his brain, was thrust against his own desire into the posture of champion of German liberty.

'The king' (writes Dr Pflugk-Harttung, p. 88) 'did not belong to the number of those who may be considered as the originators of the idea of national independence. He yielded, almost against his own will, to the stress of circumstances and the pressure of his councillors. The men of resolute action were Yorck and Stein, Scharnhorst and Blücher.'

This is, even to-day, not the story that is taught in official handbooks or Imperial centenary speeches. But it has the advantage of being the true story. It is the Prussian army and the Prussian people that play the

hero's part in the annals of 1813. The house of Hohenzollern had made Prussia great in the 18th century; in the early 19th it was Prussia that made the house of Hohenzollern great.

There are 400 illustrations of all sorts and sizes in this handsome folio—an admirable collection which would make it acceptable as a picture-book even without Dr Pflugk-Harttung's text. Many are contemporary engravings or woodcuts of 1813, which shine more from their actual touch with the time than from their artistic merit. Of some of the old military heroes no portraits survive, save sketches or prints by unskilled draughtsmen, which represent them with features and forms of grotesque harshness and stiffness. Such are those of Bennigsen (p. 273), Wintzingerode (p. 237), and Jürgass (p. 198). The Austrian Court painters of 1813 reach a scarcely higher rank of merit. Prince Schwarzenberg, if Steinla may be trusted, bore a marvellous resemblance to the Emperor Nero, which his private character as a procrastinator, a lover of half-measures, and a humanitarian, renders singularly absurd.

The reader, turning over the pages of engravings, will come on some old friends, portraits of French Marshals by Isabey and Paul Delaroche, reproductions of Raffet's grim sketches of life and death in the Imperial army, and of Meissonnier's familiar '1813' and '1814.' There are, so far as we can see, only two English pictures in the vast collection, Lady Butler's 'Charge of the Scots Greys at Waterloo,' and Orchardson's 'Napoleon on board the Bellerophon.' Both will give the German reader a favourable impression of our national art; there are a good many pictures from our side of the water which one is glad *not* to see included. And we would gladly have missed Checa's well-known but wholly unhistoric 'Schlucht bei Mont St Jean'—the reproduction of Victor Hugo's vain invention of the fall of whole squadrons of French cuirassiers into a non-existent hollow road some twenty or thirty feet deep, which the fertile imagination of the author of 'Les Misérables' devised as the explanation of the failure of a certain famous charge. It is a fine study of riders and horses in rapid movement and sudden disaster, but its introduction helps to perpetuate a tiresome legend.

The two classes of illustrations which will be least familiar and most interesting to the English purchaser of this great volume are the spirited set of military prints giving German uniforms of 1813 from Knötel's 'Uniformenkunde,' and a long series of large plates giving episodes in the regimental histories of certain ancient German corps by Röchling, Haug, Neumann, and Schmidt. Many of these are highly successful examples of the 'panoramic' style of military picture, in which the artist tries to render not a mere episode involving a few figures in a corner of some famous battle-field, but the general movement of a whole corps to execute a manœuvre which shall be comprehensible to the beholder. This is a difficult task; it requires unwearied patience—for detail must not be scamped—and a certain amount of tactical knowledge. Wherefore we cannot too highly commend the vigorous renderings of a long front of conflict like Neumann's 'Advance of the Hesse-Homburg regiment at Leipzig,' Knötel's 'Silesian Rifles at Vauchamps'—infantry charging cavalry like the British at El-Bodon—and Röchling's 'Bayonet-attack by the Hanoverians at Goehrde.' All these clearly express a broad tactical movement, yet are full of human interest. They infinitely exceed in value, at least in historical value, the compositions representing seven or eight men in uniform engaged in some completely episodic detail of battle, which are the ideal of many military painters in England and elsewhere; for they appeal to the spectator's understanding and not merely to his sense of the picturesque. To represent the battle of Waterloo by a version of the exploits of Shaw the Lifeguardsman, as our ancestors were wont to do, is absurd. The ideal picture that would express the psychology of that great day must rather show the long line of British squares, raked by artillery and charged by countless squadrons, but standing rooted to their chosen ground, unshaken and unshakable.

But we must not dwell too long on the mere iconography of 1813. Nor is it our desire to recapitulate its annals, or to explain its place in world-history. As we look back on the War of Liberation from the perspective of a century, there are two or three theses which seem

worthy of development, because, in the study of the mass of detail and the reams of unpublished documents in which the modern historian loves to bury himself, the larger deductions often fail to receive their due recognition.

The first is that the War of 1813 was no ordinary contest of regular armies, like the campaigns of Austerlitz, Jena, or Wagram, but the largest conflict between masses of untrained or half-trained men on both sides that has ever taken place. The recent war in the Balkans, and the first year of the American Civil War in 1862, are the nearest parallels to it. From this fact followed many of its special peculiarities.

French historians frequently write of the War of Liberation as if therein an army of heroic conscripts was overwhelmed by superior numbers of veteran trained soldiers. German historians are prone to represent it as the victory of a patriotic Landwehr over the ancient 'Grande Armée' of Napoleon. Each party is prone to think only of the disabilities and weakness of its own host, and to neglect those of the adversary. The impartial observer can see much truth in both views, and by their juxtaposition must draw conclusions of his own.

It was, of course, with an army utterly unlike that of 1805, or even that of 1809, that Napoleon played for, and lost, his great stake—the preservation of his position as master of Central Europe. This much all serious historians acknowledge. But it is not till we have looked beneath the surface, and recognised the extraordinary composition of the hosts that fought at Bautzen and Leipzig, that we realise the full difficulty of the Emperor's problem. It is often said that the composition of the army of 1813 was as far inferior to that of the army of 1809 as that of the army of 1809 to that of the army of 1805. Such a comparison understates the difference in the most flagrant fashion. In the Wagram campaign Napoleon had still an immense body of French veteran troops, which served to form the backbone of the rather motley Grande Armée that finally discomfited the Archduke Charles. But in 1813 he had no such resource; save for what lay in Spain, pinned down to the Peninsula by Wellington, the entire regular army had perished.

The efforts made by Napoleon to create during the spring months of 1813 a fresh host to replace that which

he had lost in the Russian snows were certainly astounding. There was absolutely no nucleus left in the field round which he might build up the new structure. Of the Grande Armée of 1812 nothing survived save the fugitives rallied by Rapp to form the garrison of Dantzic, and the miserable remnant which Eugène Beauharnais was leading back from the Vistula. On February 1, 1813, the Viceroy of Italy wrote to his stepfather that he had under arms with him at Posen 6400 men, who represented the entire 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th corps of the Grande Armée. These same four corps had, on June 15 of the preceding year, when the Russian campaign began, been composed of 156 battalions, and had counted 125,962 bayonets. The Imperial Guard, about the same time, showed 1300 men present; it had been 41,000 strong at the commencement of the march on Moscow. The other six corps had been almost entirely composed not of French troops but of auxiliaries. Of these some (like the Austrians) had withdrawn themselves homeward; others (viz. York's Prussian divisions) had gone over to the enemy; the rest (Westphalians and Rheinbündler of various sorts) had perished as completely as the French regiments. Eugène Beauharnais only brought back something resembling an army to the Elbe because on his way he was joined by two fresh divisions, those of Grenier and Lagrange, which represented the last scrapings of the garrisons left behind in Italy and Germany, when the Grand Army marched off to the Niemen a year before.

Of the fifty-two French infantry regiments of the regular army which had served in the Russian war, each four or five battalions strong, it may be said without exaggeration that the whole had perished. There remained to represent them nothing but a few hundreds of officers, whose constitutions had resisted the horrors of the late campaign, and who were returning to France as isolated individuals, and some 20,000 men in the home depôts, of whom 4000 were sick and another 4000 were the mechanics of the regimental workshops—tailors, cobblers, carpenters, etc.; while there was another section consisting of veterans on the eve of discharge, who had not marched with the corps because their time of service was just ending. Yet bodies of men representing all these

fifty-two regiments took part five months later in the Saxon and Silesian campaign of 1813. The feat of re-organisation was a notable one on the part of the Emperor, but the new regiments had nothing in common with the old ones save their uniforms and the numbers on their shako-plates. There was absolutely no continuity of regimental existence, save in a few exceptional cases. Of the officers of 1812 very few, of the men of 1812 not one per cent., were to be found in the battalions of 1813. The regiments were re-formed by means of masses of the conscripts of 1813 and of 1814—the latter called out a year before their time. The Emperor asked for 250,000 men by the 'senatus consultum' of January 11, 1813, for 180,000 more by the supplementary demand of April 3. He did not obtain the whole number, for malingerers and deserters were innumerable, but he got together enough to fill up all the empty cadres of which his old regiments had consisted in January.

But 800 conscripts do not make a battalion that can take the field. The difficulty lay with the officers and under-officers required to form the cadres of the regiments in a state of resurrection. That enough were scraped together in the end to enable the regiments to go to the front was in itself a great *tour de force*. But neither the quality nor the quantity was satisfactory; and here lay the greatest weakness in the army of 1813. Of Napoleon in his extremity it may be said, as of another ruler of more modern times who was equally in his last straits, that, to keep his army in existence, 'he robbed the cradle and the grave.' At one end of the scale of years he obtained hundreds of boy sub-lieutenants, by sending commissions to every cadet who had been a few months at St Cyr and the other military colleges; * at the other, he laid hands on elderly half-pay officers who had seen no service since the fall of the Republic, and re-incorporated them in their regiments. At least one old general—once famous in the Army of the Sambre-et-Meuse—was seen coming back to serve in the uniform of 1793, with tricolour plumes in his old-fashioned cocked

* The narrative of a lad of seventeen, Martin, sub-lieutenant in the 154th, who was sent to the front almost immediately after he had joined at St Cyr, is one of the best and most lively accounts of the internal life of a regiment during the campaign of Lützen and Leipzig.

hat, and coat-tails of a length that excited the mirth of the younger generation. Another expedient was the wholesale promotion of sergeants from the Army of Spain—the one solid body of old soldiers that Napoleon still possessed—to commissioned rank. Many did well, but many more were ill-suited for promotion, and made incapable if thoroughly courageous officers. But when every resource for creating officers and under-officers had been used up, there were still regiments hopelessly unprovided with them. A general, writing from Magdeburg to report on his brigade, observes that he is short of 257 sergeants and corporals; one of his regiments has only four sergeants altogether, while in another twenty officers are wanting. Another commander writes that his whole body of officers is hopeless; he will have to cashier or send home to France most of his captains; his lieutenants are schoolboys who ought never to have received commissions.

Napoleon got these unpromising units to the front, and even won battles with them. But he could not teach them to march, to feed themselves, to observe the ordinary rules of discipline. They plundered, straggled, malingered, deserted, died. From the first start of the campaign the army was melting between the Emperor's fingers day by day; and it was not the casualties in action which were the most serious leakage, but the wear and tear of marching. As each regiment moved along through the rain-sodden fields of Silesia and Saxony, it not only kept discharging hundreds of weakly lads to die in the hospitals, but it was surrounded on each flank by swarms of marauders (*fricoteurs*, as they were called) who had slipped away from the colours, and ended in being cut off by the Prussian Free Corps or the Cossacks. Moreover, it left a steady trail of deserters behind, who quietly made the best of their way to France. So numerous were they that an officer commanding one of the Rhine garrisons wrote to head-quarters to ask what he should do to them; he was catching them by scores; they were too numerous to shoot; all had some ingenious excuse, but it was clear that they were simply deserters, and, if sent back to join their regiments, they would abscond on the route once more.

The bodies of conscripts led by improvised cadres of

officers, which bore the names and numbers of the lost regiments of the line, were the most numerous, but by no means the only section of Napoleon's infantry force in 1813. New units appear in perplexing variety and of very various military worth; the Emperor was scraping up from every corner of his realm every man who was available; small resources that almost escaped notice in the days of his prosperity became precious in the time of bankruptcy. The city of Paris had a municipal guard of two battalions, 1050 men, all old soldiers who had settled down to police duty, and thought that their campaigning days were over. By a stroke of the pen they became the 134th of the Line, and received their route for Erfurt, where they were to pick up conscripts from the Rhine departments to complete them to a full regiment. The three numbers before 134 in the army-list were filled up from a much more doubtful source. Napoleon owned five Penal Corps, into which were drafted all the incorrigible *mauvais sujets* of the army, and refractory conscripts who had been rejected by the colonels to whom they were allotted. These corps were kept shut up in islands, and were subjected to an iron discipline by officers who had themselves been drafted out of their battalions for some notorious failing. Their battalions marched early to the front as the 131st, 132nd, 133rd of the Line, and the 35th and 36th L  ger. They were all brigaded together, and went to form the only French division in Reynier's (the 7th) Corps d'Arm  e, the rest of which was composed entirely of Rheinbund battalions. What was likely to be the fate of a German district through which passed this division composed entirely of the sweepings of the French army? And what would be the state in the field of regiments whose rank and file were either professional deserters or incorrigibles? Yet this division fought with more success than many others.

A far better raw material for the creation of new infantry units was procured from the fleet. From the squadrons lying permanently blockaded at Brest and the Texel, at Antwerp and Toulon, Napoleon requisitioned about 10,000 marine troops, whom he formed into four regiments, and sent all together to Marmont's (the 2nd) Corps. They were grown men, not conscripts, and they

had been some time under arms; but it must be remembered that they had been cut up into small detachments allotted to individual vessels or sea-coast batteries. Consequently, they knew nothing of each other, were not accustomed to manœuvring as battalions, much less as regiments, and were commanded by officers all whose training had been for sea-work and not for land campaigns. Very few had ever heard a shot fired in anger, for the French fleet since Trafalgar had been blockaded in its harbours, and few vessels ever ventured out. Nevertheless, with all their deficiencies, the marine regiments afforded by far the best material of any of the Emperor's new units.

The most numerous body of fresh troops which we have yet to mention was composed of the bodies which bore the sonorous Roman name of the 'Cohorts.' This was an organisation which Napoleon had created in 1812, just before he started for Russia. The interior of the Empire being almost stripped of regular troops, and the National Guard being a force which was only called out occasionally and in certain limited districts, the Emperor had conceived the idea of endowing each department with a 'cohort' raised for local service, which was to be kept permanently embodied so long as the regular home garrisons were absent in the East. They were requisitioned from the 'first ban' of the National Guard, that is, from those men between twenty and twenty-six years of age who had drawn lucky numbers in the conscription, and so had not been drafted into the army. The measure had been very unpopular, and had even provoked riots in some places, for the men of the National Guard naturally resented permanent embodiment. But it was explained to them that their service was to be purely departmental, and that they were only kept under arms to preserve order within the realm or to resist British naval descents. The officers were mainly drawn, like the men, from the National Guard, but the higher ranks were filled by half-pay captains and *chefs-de-bataillon* who had retired from active service. The Cohorts had been about nine months embodied when, on January 11, 1813, a 'senatus consultum' appeared, stating that they had ceased to belong to the National Guard and had become part of the regular army. The Emperor

made out of them twenty-two line regiments numbered 135 to 156. To palliate the obvious breach of faith which converted National Guards into linesmen, and made liable for general service troops who had been assured that they were only raised for work at home, a farce of volunteering was carried out in many cohorts, by which the unit purported to address the Emperor and asked to be allowed to serve under his eye in the Grand Army.

The mobilisation of the Cohorts gave the Emperor nearly 80,000 men, who were all older than the conscripts of 1813 and had all received the rudiments of drill. The weak point in them was that their training had been bad, because their officers were mostly non-professionals of all sorts, drawn from the National Guard. Those who were not were elderly men past active service. The Cohorts were therefore no more than a newly-raised militia, badly officered; and their spirit was thoroughly mutinous, because of the breach of faith of which they had been made the victims. In some cohorts the men treated their officers with contempt, and obeyed or disobeyed orders as they pleased. In others, where some attempt to introduce discipline had been made, the men were threatening to shoot their superiors on the first opportunity. In short, these new regiments of the line, though recruited in a different fashion, were quite as unpromising material for war as those old ones which had been hastily reformed with the conscripts of 1813.

Such was the infantry of the Grand Army of 1813. It was enormously numerous, but two-thirds of the men were under twenty years of age, and only the marines, the penal battalions, the Cohorts, and the Municipal Guards had been under arms for more than four months when the campaign began. These may have formed a quarter of the whole force; the rest had received their weapons and uniform on the way to the front, and had been drilled at their halting stages. The legend that conscripts were found in line of battle who did not even know how to load their muskets is hardly exaggerated. The only veteran body at the Emperor's disposal was the Old Guard, which had been filled up with seasoned soldiers, by the expedient of ordering every battalion of the Army of Spain to send a contingent of picked men to the Rhine. A 'Young Guard' was also re-created, but from conscripts

of the same classes as those who went to join the line regiments. Its battalions were little, if at all, better than those of the rest of the army.

The Emperor had expressed the opinion that infantry can be trained and made efficient for battle with great rapidity. He could not say the same of cavalry; and the mounted units of the host that went to Russia had been as thoroughly destroyed as their comrades on foot. Thirteen of the fourteen Cuirassier regiments, which had been wont to form Napoleon's favourite weapon for the delivery of the final blow in a great pitched battle, had crossed the Niemen and gone to their doom. The fourteenth was with Marshal Suchet in Valencia. Of the other cavalry regiments of the French line thirty-five had undergone the same fate as the Cuirassiers: about forty-five survived, but these were immobilised in Spain, whence the Emperor proceeded to draw as many of them as he dared, one after the other. But it was necessary to leave many of them in the Peninsula, if Wellington was to be duly 'contained'; and in the spring of 1813 very few corps came up in time for the commencement of the campaign in Saxony—not more than half-a-dozen indeed, as it would appear. It was only after the disaster of Vittoria (June 21), when the Emperor saw that Spain was finally lost, and that for the future his armies would be on the defensive in the Pyrenees, that he determined to requisition the greater part of the veteran cavalry regiments. About a dozen of them had been recalled to the Elbe in time for the battle of Dresden in August; some fifteen more arrived in time for Leipzig. Thus the Grand Army was provided with a fair amount of excellent horse during the second half of the campaign of 1813.

But during the earlier fighting, at Weissenfels, Lützen, and Bautzen, in the month of May, there was an absolute penury of cavalry. For, though there was no difficulty in telling off many thousands of conscripts to reconstitute the regiments destroyed in Russia, and though a certain number of officers for them were procured by means like those adopted for the old infantry units, horses were hard to procure, and the men were absolutely incapable of learning their work in the few weeks that were at their disposition. Cavalry cannot be improvised. The greater part of the recruits told off for mounted service could not

even ride, when they were hurried off to their depôts in February. Hence it was that, though Napoleon took the field in May with more than 200,000 infantry, and had enormous raw reserves coming up from the rear, he had only about 15,000 horsemen with him, and these largely Polish and Rheinbund regiments. All the light horse attached to the several army corps was foreign; while the reserve cavalry, which had been wont to play such a great part in earlier campaigns, consisted of a few hastily reorganised squadrons, and a regiment or two which had already arrived from Spain. 'We shall have to deliver battles like our old fights in Egypt,' wrote the Emperor; 'a superior infantry well supported by guns ought to be self-sufficing.' And, indeed, his early successes were won by the great numerical superiority of his infantry, raw though it was.

The cavalry was still missing. It came up by degrees during the course of the summer, and was present with the army in considerable numbers when the armistice of Pläswitz ended in August. But, save the old regiments from Spain, it was untrustworthy; it could not manoeuvre, and it could not rally. The best way to illustrate the character of the newly-formed units, so late as June, is to give a short quotation from the Memoirs of Colonel de Gonneville, who had arrived from Spain at Hamburg, to take charge of a provisional regiment formed of a squadron each from the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Cuirassiers. No horses came to hand for some weeks, and the conscripts had to be drilled on foot.

'One fine morning I at last received orders to take over one hundred and twenty horses, to draw as many saddles, etc. from the magazines, to mount my first squadron, and to go off the next day, to hold the outpost line along the Steckenitz river, behind which the Russians lay. I had therefore to organise a squadron for the field in twenty hours, with men of whom nine-tenths had never touched a horse, or worn a cuirass except at dismounted drill. The horses were excellent, but many of them had never been even saddled before this day.

'The first squadron spent the greater part of the night in saddling and bridling its mounts; that is to say, the officers and sergeants did it for the men, who had no idea how cavalry equipment was placed on a horse. All this with young horses who were frightened at their trappings, and

who scared the inexperienced troopers by disorderly prancing, and making sudden bolts, especially when the crupper went on. In the morning they were brought out in single file, each with the man who was to ride him; and the cavaliers were hoisted up into their saddles, not without great difficulty, for the cuirasses proved most embarrassing. At nine o'clock the squadron was drawn up and ready to start. As we were to pass out by the suburb of St George—where the guard would have to salute us, and we them—I had the unhappy idea of giving the order "Draw Swords" before moving off; I had supposed that my men would execute this direction more easily at the halt than when they were on the march.

'The blades sprang out of the sheaths with fair regularity, but their glitter, and the hiss that they made in being drawn, startled the horses so dreadfully that they went off like a flock of pigeons, making disorderly bounds, and trying to get rid of their riders; the majority of the troopers let themselves slip off when they could. At last, almost every man was thrown; and the horses, excited by their liberty, and worried by the stirrups which kept banging against their bellies, and by the carbines which continued swinging from their pommels, charged in every direction down the streets of the suburb of St George, where a long parade, planted with several rows of trees, was the main scene of the performance. Two hours barely sufficed to catch all the lost horses; and my men (of whom fortunately not one was seriously hurt) were hoisted on again.' (*Souvenirs militaires*, pp. 254-7.)

Five months later, when autumn was ending, de Gonneville confesses that 'our squadrons were strong, and looked pretty well, but I should not have been prepared to class them as very solid cavalry.' But before that date most of the reformed cavalry regiments of the French army had already been led into the heart of the battle, and had suffered there the experiences that might have been expected. The Emperor, in short, was never able to use his horse as he had in earlier wars. Some good service was got out of the Dragoons from Spain both at Dresden and at Leipzig, but these veterans were in a sad minority; and, when Murat received a brigade of them from time to time, he was prone to use them up rapidly, in sheer exultation at having some efficient squadrons at last under his hand.

With such an army at his disposal in May, we might

at first feel disposed to wonder that Napoleon was even so successful at the start of his campaign as to win the bloody fights of Lützen and Bautzen, and to thrust his enemies back into Silesia. True, these were not victories of the old sort. Hardly any prisoners were made; scarcely a gun was captured; the losses of the victors in each case exceeded those of the vanquished. But they were strategical successes of an important kind, and the Allies were driven back far behind their original fighting ground.

The simple explanation of the Emperor's success in the campaign of May 1813 was that, by hurrying his conscripts into the field at such short notice, he had fought with an immense numerical superiority. At Lützen he had 130,000 men on the field against a little over 80,000—more than three to two; at Bautzen about 186,000 men against 98,000, or nearly double. With such odds in his favour he could afford to risk action with an inferior cavalry and a half-trained infantry; his own military genius, combined with the vast advantage in numbers, sufficed to win the day. It was when the 'big battalions' ceased to be on the Emperor's side that the inferior quality of his army began to make itself felt. In the Lützen-Bautzen campaign he had to deal only with so much of the old Russian army as had survived the snows of 1812—the battalions did not for the most part exceed three hundred bayonets—and with the first line only of the Prussians. In February, owing to the restrictions which had been imposed on Frederick William at Tilsit, the standing army of the shrunken Prussian state had been only 42,000 strong. The excellent organisation which Scharnhorst had devised for that army, with short service and an immense proportional reserve of trained men, enabled the Prussians to raise that 42,000 to 80,000 in three months. Each regiment threw out a successive formation of 'reserve battalions' and 'garrison battalions,' all consisting of men who had spent some time with the colours within the last few years, and had no great difficulty in resuming military habits. But Frederick William's long hesitation ere he declared open war on France, and the consequent lateness of his mobilisation, had prevented him from taking full advantage either of the effective organisation of his reserves or of the splendid enthusiasm of his people.

When, however, the armistice of Pläswitz—Napoleon's greatest political blunder but one—came to an end in August, the balance of numbers had changed. The Emperor, it is true, had brought up most of his half-trained reserves, and had obtained some brigades of good old cavalry from Spain. But the Russians had at last begun to receive the much-needed drafts from their distant depôts, and had nearly doubled their original strength. And Prussia, by an astonishing effort, had now 270,000 men under arms, and 160,000 in first line.

The interest of the second campaign of 1813 lies to a great extent in the clash between the two great bodies of raw troops now opposing each other. For the Prussians had not only brought to the front all the reserve-battalions of their regular army, many of whom had in May been occupied in blockading the numerous French garrisons scattered through their country—in Dantzic, Cüstrin, Stettin, Glogau, etc.—but had put tens of thousands of men in newly-created Landwehr-units into the first line. The raising of this immense militia-organisation was the great feature of the summer of 1813. After filling up every cadre of the regular army, the Prussian nation produced myriads of willing supernumeraries. Some—mainly townsmen—went into the numerous volunteer Jäger companies and into the Free-Corps, which did detached service and endeavoured to cut the French communications. But the great mass from the country-side were thrown into the Landwehr-formation, which was the most hastily improvised of military machines, far rawer than Napoleon's most untrained battalions. The first royal decree authorising its creation had appeared on March 17, 1813, so that it is not surprising that the regiments were only beginning to assemble in April, and could not take the field in May. At first the number of muskets available for them was so small that only the front rank could be given firearms; pikes were served out to the rest. Some units, it is said, actually went to relieve regular battalions in the blockade of the French garrisons in Central Prussia, still bearing these medieval weapons, and only got muskets from the immense number of French prisoners taken at the Katzbach disaster in the end of August.

The outward appearance of the Landwehr witnessed

to the penury of the Prussian treasury at the moment, and the absolute impossibility of improvising military equipment in a country almost destitute of large manufacturing towns. They could only be provided with a short blue tunic (or rather blouse), linen trousers (cloth had given out), and a sort of low forage-cap with a white cross on the front. There were no knapsacks, no canteens or cooking utensils; many battalions received neither a great coat nor a cloak; some had not even bayonets, and at close quarters had to rely on the clubbed musket as a weapon. Trained officers were few, trained sergeants still fewer; a great many of both were procured by indenting on the volunteer rifle companies, which had been a few weeks longer in the field than the Landwehr, and had been raised from the upper classes in the towns.

That such regiments were taken into the field and used in pitched battles is a testimony both to the necessities of the State and the willingness of the men. The army which covered Berlin from the successive attacks of Oudinot in August and Ney in September was largely composed of them. Both at Gross-Beeren and at Dennewitz they were freely used; they displayed all the faults of raw troops, manœuvred badly, and broke repeatedly, but showed their spirit by always rallying and returning to the front with very creditable vigour. The great day, however, of the Brandenburg Landwehr was the combat of Hagelsberg (August 27), where a division of them, 12,000 strong, without any support of regular troops, engaged and, after many misadventures and mistakes, finally beat Girard's French division, about 9000 strong, on the road between Magdeburg and Berlin. The French, of course, were like themselves, raw material, sent hastily into the field; but, nevertheless, the moral impression was great. A militia had not only beaten regulars but almost annihilated them, for only a fraction of Girard's men got back to Magdeburg, and they were in evil state.

'This division' (wrote Lemarois, governor of that fortress) 'came back yesterday evening about 3000 strong only, some without muskets, some without knapsacks or shakos, in short in such a state of dilapidation that one would have believed that they had been out on a campaign of six months' duration.'

After this the Landwehr, with all its faults, was freely used in battle line. The institution had succeeded; and the Government employed it without fear in time of peril, despite of all its shortcomings. It is curious to find that the modern official historian of 1813, with the regular soldier's habitual contempt for militia, gives a very grudging acknowledgment of the services of these regiments, dwelling on their frequent mishaps, and not sufficiently recognising the fact that by their aid alone did Prussia succeed in playing her commanding part in the great struggle.

When French historians speak of the Imperial army of 1813 as having been overwhelmed by superior numbers of veteran troops, it is fair to remember that the enemy's numerical superiority was composed of units even more hastily organised and ill-trained than Napoleon's conscripts. If only the old line-troops were counted, the Allies—Russians, Prussians, and Austrians—were inferior in mere total of strength to the French; it was the 100,000 Landwehr which made the difference, and produced that impression of inexhaustible numbers which disheartened the Emperor's generals.

Regarded from the purely military point of view, it was no doubt the Austrian intervention which ruined Napoleon, though the 127,000 men whom Schwarzenberg led out of Bohemia in August were destined to play the least brilliant part of all the allied troops during the subsequent campaign. Nobody denied that they were good material; but they seemed doomed to get all the hard knocks, and to accomplish none of the decisive exploits of the autumn campaign. At Dresden they were the chief sufferers, and left behind 13,000 prisoners; neither the Russians nor the Prussians lost many. At Leipzig their exertions were greater than their success; and the decisive blows were all given by their allies. It would almost seem as if the disposition of their cautious and dilatory chief Schwarzenberg had spread its influence downward throughout his army. Certainly it never fought with the fire and fury of the Prussians or the dogged obstinacy of the Russians. For the former this was a war of life and death; defeat would mean the dismemberment of the State and perpetual servitude. For

the latter it was a war of revenge; atonement had to be made for the burning of Holy Moscow. But for Metternich or Schwarzenberg it was a war of policy, having no broader aim than the restoration of old boundaries and the re-establishment of the Hapsburg domination in Northern Italy. So far was the Austrian Government from regarding the war of 1813 as a crusade against the public enemy of European liberty, that it would undoubtedly have held aloof from the struggle if Napoleon had offered good enough terms during the Armistice of Pläswitz, and would have made peace in 1814 at the Congress of Châtillon, leaving him still on the throne of France. While their allies fought with the stimulus of personal hatred or national enthusiasm, the Austrians were waging an ordinary political 'war of compensations' of the 18th century type. Hence came the caution among their leaders, and the lack of enthusiasm among the led. The troops were in the field to do their duty as soldiers, not to fight for any national cause or creed. Indeed, a national cause was impossible in many-tongued Austria; and dynastic loyalty was an indifferent substitute for it.

Hence it is undoubtedly to Prussian enthusiasm and Russian zeal for revenge that we may ascribe, from the point of view of psychology, the triumph of the allied cause in 1813. Austria would never have come into the struggle at all, she would have contented herself with trying to wheedle concessions out of Napoleon, unless she had seen the Northern Powers committed to a life-and-death struggle with him. Her opportunity came in the deadlock of June-July 1813, when she could intervene with advantage either to blackmail the French Emperor in his day of doubtful fortune, or to turn the scale against him if he refused to be blackmailed. Fortunately for the liberties of Europe, Napoleon's megalomania prevailed over his prudence; and after the famous altercation with Metternich at Dresden, in which he flung his hat across the room, and shouted that he cared nothing for the lives of a million men, and that he would give up no hand's-breadth of land that he had once called his own, he forced Austria to draw the sword, and to win her ends by war and not by cold-blooded and selfish diplomacy. But no historian will say that Austria was the originating

cause of the fall of the French tyranny in Europe. The credit must be given elsewhere; we ourselves on this side of the North Sea claim no small share of it; the Spaniards have their right to participate in it; Russia showed the tyrant the limit of his power; but, of all the enemies of Napoleon, the Prussian people (if not the Prussian king) has perhaps the best right to be proud of the centenary of 1813.

It is not possible, nor desirable, to attempt in these pages to give any chronicle of the details of the two campaigns of that year. It must suffice to say that the first of them was a poor specimen of one of Napoleon's familiar strategical exercises, and the second a disastrous example of a form of strategy which he had rarely used in his long career, and for which the nearest parallel has to be sought in the Italian campaigns of General Bonaparte, not in the history of the Empire.

Napoleon, as General Camon truly observes, might possess or might not possess in a given campaign a superiority over his enemy; and by superiority is meant not necessarily a numerical overplus, but an advantage due either to this or to the quality of his troops, their confidence in his infallibility, and his own personal ascendancy over the generals opposed to him. In the first case, when he had a real superiority either in quantity or quality, it was his wont to throw his army on the rear of the enemy, by one of his typical marches, and to try to surround and destroy him utterly. This was the strategy that succeeded entirely at Marengo, Ulm, and Jena, less completely at Pultusk, Landshut, and Smolensk. In the second case, when Napoleon had no such superiority, he strove to divide his adversaries' forces, or to profit from their original separation, by taking a central position between their various fractions, from which he could sally out to destroy them in succession. This form of campaign might have two varieties. In one Napoleon was not tied down to any fixed spot, and was free to manœuvre as he chose. In the other there was some central object which he must at all costs preserve from the enterprises of the enemy. Such were the blockading-lines round Mantua in 1796; Dresden—his base and magazine—in the autumn campaign of 1813; Paris in the campaign of 1814. In

such circumstances the Emperor's opportunity must come from his adversaries' strategical errors; and his decisive stroke against one or other of their armies must be preceded by a phase in which he was waiting for such an error to develop—he must be in *attente stratégique* till he suddenly turned his defensive posture into an offensive one.

Now the first, or spring, campaign of 1813 was an example of Napoleon's normal procedure, in a case where he believed himself to have a superiority over the enemy. He considered that, outnumbering the Russo-Prussians by three to two, having the advantage of unity of command as against an army guided by a council of war, and (above all) being sure that his own genius was unmatched by any brain among his opponents, he might play for the great stake—that of annihilating his adversaries. Hence his original plan was to turn their right flank by a march through Leipzig, and to fall upon them from flank and rear, cutting them off both from Berlin and from Dresden, and driving them against the mountains of Bohemia or the Thüringerwald. But the enemy, instead of allowing himself to be cut off in this fashion, fell upon the flank of Napoleon's marching columns, forced him to fight a desperate battle at Lützen upon an unexpected ground, and, when checked by superior numbers, got off in safety eastwards under the cover of his superior cavalry. The French army, only arriving on the field corps by corps, and forced to fight in large masses because of the rawness of the troops and their inability to manœuvre, lost nearly 25,000 men, while the Allies lost only 12,000.

Nevertheless Lützen was a victory, gave Dresden to the Emperor, and forced his enemies to fall back far beyond the Elbe. The victor hoped that they would divide, since it would be natural for the Prussians to try to cover Berlin, while the Russians would wish to retire due eastward. The Allies disappointed his expectations, and kept together, close to the foot of the Bohemian mountains. The Emperor then again tried to cut them off from their line of retreat, and to crush them against the Austrian frontier. He sent Ney with 80,000 men to get behind their right, while he himself attacked their front with 100,000 more. The timing of the encircling

movement at the battle of Bautzen failed; the Allies, though outnumbered by nearly two to one, fought a fierce defensive battle, and escaped when the pressure upon their flank became dangerous, leaving hardly a prisoner and not one gun behind. Again the French losses far exceeded those of the Allies, apparently in the proportion of 18,000 to 11,000. 'What a butchery, and with no result!' said Napoleon to Berthier that evening, 'no prisoners and not a nail of a single gun-carriage.' Did he, like Pyrrhus of old, murmur to himself, 'A few more victories of this sort, and I am lost!'

The two great manœuvres of Lützen and Bautzen had failed completely. The army, though victorious, was already beginning to fall to pieces under its master's eye, partly from over-exhaustion, partly from indiscipline—the natural result of subjecting raw and untrained troops to such marches and slaughter as those of the last month. A few days after Bautzen Napoleon signed the Armistice of Pläswitz.

'This truce checks the series of my victories,' he wrote to Clarke, his War Minister. 'I have decided to assent to it for two reasons; the first is that without cavalry I can strike no decisive blow; the second is the threatening attitude of Austria.'

When the war recommenced in August, after the long armistice that had occupied all June and July, the Emperor judged that he was no longer in the state of superiority to his adversaries that he had enjoyed in May. It was true that he had brought up an immense additional number of raw regiments to the front; but by the junction of 127,000 Austrians, the bringing-up of 60,000 new Russian levies, and the appearance of the Prussian reserves and Landwehr in the field, the Allies now had the advantage over him so far as figures went, though no very great one—some 510,000 against 450,000, if we take the figures of Commandant Colin. He changed his strategical policy, and from August to October he was operating from a central position—Dresden—against a ring of enemies threatening him on three sides, whom it was his object to crush in succession. To each of them was opposed a 'containing' force, which was to be reinforced up to a preponderant mass by the Emperor's

central reserve, when opportunity demanded. He was strong enough to spare in each direction very strong containing forces, so large that the enemy would not be able to neglect them, or to drive them in with ease.

'But,' as Commandant Colin observes in his admirable "Transformations de la Guerre" (p. 250), 'the autumn problem of 1813 was complex. Napoleon had not in front of him *two* hostile armies, as in 1796, but *three*. The masses in presence were enormous—perhaps 450,000 against 510,000; and, what was most important of all, the space in which they could move was almost unlimited, for the Allies could retire as far as Russia or Hungary if they chose. In the midst of the theatre of operations was Dresden, the capital of an allied sovereign; and the Emperor would not abandon it. He had made it his dépôt, his centre of operations; his central position was around and about it; and, when he ought to have transferred it toward Leipzig, Napoleon still left at Dresden a force [St Cyr's 25,000 men] which was missing at the decisive battle. The marches and counter-marches in Silesia, the victories without results, like Dresden, exhausted the army without procuring any definite success. Against adversaries like those of 1813, who knew how to avoid or accept battle according as the case demanded, delicate manœuvres, like those of 1796, were not applicable. It was necessary to crush one of the hostile armies before turning against another. The manœuvre from a central position is always possible, but must it always be successful? In 1813 the Allies had discovered, in the so-called "Reichenbach plan," a line of conduct which rendered the manœuvre from a central position dangerous if not ineffective. The one of their armies to which Napoleon was opposed in person, always refused to fight and retired; meanwhile the other two pushed their offensive advance concentrically. It was thus that Blücher and Schwarzenberg finally succeeded in surrounding Napoleon at Leipzig, without his having been able to force either of them to the separate battles which he sought unceasingly in September.'

This lucid paragraph admirably explains the autumn campaign of 1813. It is a fair example of Commandant Colin's power of summarising conclusions in the shortest possible space. To make its meaning even clearer we have only to add a few more words to emphasise the contrast between the campaign around Mantua in 1796 and that around Dresden and Leipzig in 1813. In the

first, General Bonaparte had to transfer, by marches and counter-marches, small bodies of seasoned troops from one point to another of a very narrow theatre of war in order to accomplish his ends. In the second, the Emperor Napoleon had to move immense armies of exhausted and undisciplined conscripts between points excessively remote in an illimitable field of operations. It seems that the scale was altogether too vast; one of Napoleon's mere 'containing forces' of 1813 would have outnumbered the whole Republican army of Italy of 1796. It could not march freely like Victor's or Massena's petty divisions hurrying to Rivoli, but took up long leagues of road, required immense transport, and, when it found the enemy, needed a whole day to deploy. And the enemy would not be near at hand, reachable by a single forced march, but a hundred miles away, with illimitable stretches of devastated Silesian plains and bad country roads to pass before he could even be discovered. When found, he absconded, instead of stopping in an obliging fashion to give battle, if he ascertained that the Emperor in person was opposite him. If not, he might deliver a thundering blow against his pursuers, as Blücher did at the Katzbach.

But all accounts agree that it was the marches more than the battles that wore down Napoleon's vast conscript army of 1813. The country-side was ruined; no more food was to be got out of it; the convoys could not follow the cross-marches of the army; the men received only half rations; they sickened, or straggled, or frankly deserted. This was the main reason why, of 450,000 men under arms at the conclusion of the Armistice of Pläswitz, only 170,000 took part in the decisive battle of Leipzig. The casualties in action account only for the smaller share of the deficiency. In short, the Napoleonic system had broken down under its own weight; its fall was all the more ruinous because of the immense scale on which its last army had been raised, and the inferior material which had to be used if that scale was to be reached. Such is the moral of 1813.

C. W. OMAN.

Art. 13.—GERMANY UNDER WILLIAM II, 1888-1913.

1. *Soziale Kultur und Volkswohlfahrt während der ersten 25 Regierungsjahre Kaiser Wilhelms II.* By Dr von Behr-Pinnow, Prof. Dietrich, and Dr Kayserling. Berlin: Stilke, 1913.
2. *Kaiser und Reich, 1888-1913: 25 Jahre preussisch-deutscher Geschichte.* By Prof. Felix Rachfahl. Berlin: Vossische Buchhandlung, 1913.
3. *Kaiser Wilhelm II und die Triebkräfte des neudeutschen Sozial- und Wirtschaftslebens.* A Jubilee oration by Prof. Bernhard Harms. Jena: Fischer, 1913.
4. *Festrede zur Feier des fünfundzwanzigjährigen Regierungsjubiläum S. M. des Kaiser und Königs.* By Prof. Otto Hintze. Berlin: University Press, 1913.
5. *Der Kaiser und die Nation.* By Prof. Hermann Oncken. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1913.
6. *German Sea Power: its rise, progress, and economic basis.* By Archibald Hurd and Henry Castle. London: Murray, 1913.

THE present year has been distinguished by the celebration of the Jubilee of the accession of William II; and the event has been welcomed by the German nation as a good opportunity for taking an account of the true import of the quarter-century during which the Emperor and the Empire have been so closely and continuously connected. The anniversary was kept, not only with all the splendour and high festival in which the present generation seems to delight, but also in the spirit of national self-examination. The lofty tone of many speeches made on this occasion was enhanced by the fact that it coincided with the centenary of the great revival of 1813; while the backward glance which the speakers cast upon the most critical period in the nation's history lent additional gravity to their words.

The large co-operative work that heads our list is an attempt to portray the advance made in the domain of social culture and public well-being during the reign of William II; while in the second book referred to, Prof. Rachfahl makes a first attempt to combine into one historic picture the outlines of the external and internal politics of the period, so far as we know them now. The

two English writers who deal with the sea-power of Germany maintain that 'no more opportune moment for a study of the maritime development of Germany' is to be found than the year of this double anniversary. Finally, many of the Festival Addresses, from the mass of which we select a few, have striven to bring the Emperor's close personal influence upon the national politics and culture of the day within the four corners of some scientific or artistic formula.

We are not, of course, dealing here with a period of time cut off from all other, the purport of which may be safely judged by its immediate results. We are too near these events to be able to estimate their value with the objectivity of the historian; we are in the very midst of a development, the final issue of which we know not; we are ourselves moving in the same intellectual and political current on which the actions of the Emperor are borne. But the life of the present passes so fast that we welcome any external point of demarcation at which to call a momentary halt. We have felt, as a nation, the need of forming our own estimate of the monarch, whose personality is so closely interwoven with the fate of the German nation. Many may apply to him the words of Schiller:

'Von der Parteien Hass und Gunst verwirrt,
Schwankt sein Characterbild in der Geschichte.' *

Nevertheless all Germans are agreed that the Kaiser is to be regarded as, if not *the* representative man, at any rate one of the representative men of Germany. His character and influence are therefore matters of first-rate import; and some answer must be given to the question, What does William II mean for his country and for the world? What do these twenty-five years of his rule mean for the history of Germany? Nor is this a mere historical problem; it also involves the question, What are the determining factors of the present condition and of the future progress of our nation?

In many of his utterances the Emperor has stated, with

* 'Dimm'd by the mists of party hate and favour,
He looms in History a darkling form.'

'Wallenstein's Lager'; Prolog.

great emphasis, that he feels himself to be the son of a new age, and that his purpose is to direct his subjects towards new aims; and during these twenty-five years the conviction has grown broader and deeper that the German Empire has in fact entered upon a new era. No other of the nations in the van of European civilisation has been obliged by Fate to make so tremendous a détour in its path of political development. The history of Germany, far back in the Middle Ages, starts with aspirations of an universal character. No sooner had the Teuton races united under a national king than, strengthening their own executive authority (itself the strongest within the then limits of the western world) by incorporating into it the traditions and pretensions of the Holy Roman Empire, they undertook the task, under the leadership of their Kaiser or even of their local rulers, of using the surplus of their power to expand in every direction—towards Italy and Burgundy, into the Slavonic lands on the eastern border, and to the Scandinavian North. This German expansion may be fairly considered as the earliest form of Imperialism since the Classic age; it was indeed in the name of the Roman Empire and clad in her outer garb that it made its first appearance. It was clearly a species of 'world-policy,' so far as such was compatible with the spirit and the material conditions of that day. On the one hand it appeared on the stage in the pure medieval guise of the warrior-knight; on the other, for instance in the maritime and commercial policy of the Hanseatic League, it was already beginning to work by modern methods, by what we now call 'peaceful penetration' and by the spread of national culture.

The violent recoil that followed on this too ambitious and premature effort is familiar to us all. In the struggle with the pretensions of the rival World-Power of the Papacy, the Imperial Power finally broke down; and its fall involved the central authority of the Kingdom of Germany in the same ruin. Thereupon, though Kaiser and King continued to exist in name, began the dissolution of the German State into semi-independent provinces, until at length all politically effective authority had been completely pulverised. As a natural result, the external accretions of the Empire fell off one by one,

except in the cases where the provincial authorities were able to establish themselves; even the original national boundaries could not be securely maintained, and portions of the people seceded from the main body of the Empire to form independent peoples. The outcome was, that the very nation that had been the first so gloriously to assert Imperial ideas, had to stand on one side in impotence, when in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries the division of the trans-oceanic world among the European nations began. In those centuries, during which other nations were widening their horizons to take in the whole world, Germany was developing the narrow provincialism, the economic repression, the philistine lack of initiative, which have been so slowly eradicated from the national character. The geographical centre of Europe was no longer, as in old days, the centre of its strength, but a vast chaos, void of political concentration, the cock-pit and military slave-market of Europe; bordering, in fact, on a condition of political anarchy, unworthy alike of its mighty past, and of the intellectual and moral forces which gave the German nation so memorable a share in European civilisation during the Middle Ages and in the 16th and 18th centuries.

Many generations, and one tremendous and laborious effort, were needed to restore what had been lost by the 'injuria temporum.' One hundred years have passed since the might of nationalistic ideas, first kindled in the brains of our thinkers and poets, began to assume shape in practical politics. Then, step by step, the next generations succeeded in conquering the spirit of tribal prejudice, and in recovering, at any rate for the majority of Germans, the idea of Imperial Unity and a National State. This was the work of one man, whose name history will ever record among the great builders of empires, and who—by Germans, at any rate, whose dream of centuries he brought to pass—can only be mentioned in the same breath with their greatest men. War and diplomacy alone could complete the work for which idealistic enthusiasm had prepared the way. But the new Empire, once created, declined to revive the traditions of the Holy Roman Empire, and confined itself to its proper limits; though sprung from war, it introduced an era of peace, and has maintained that character to the

present day. It demonstrated to the world that a strong and vigorous Central European Power is far more conducive to the peace of the world than the feeble and divided chaos of preceding centuries.

It was under the influence of the struggle about the new Empire that William II grew to manhood. He was a boy of twelve years of age when he was called upon to salute his grandfather as German Emperor on his return from the campaign of 1870-1. Strictly speaking, he was not 'porphyrogetetos;' but he grew to youth and manhood during the period in which the newly-won Empire, the outer frame of which had been so lately constituted, was brought into its final shape under the guidance of Bismarck. He was already bringing a full intelligence to bear on the new tasks which were devolving on the German Empire. True, the unity of the nation had been restored, but we had come too late into the world, like the poet in Schiller's poem *; the world was already shared out. To be sure, Bismarck's foresight, acting more perhaps in view of the future needs of the nation than according to the dictates of his personal judgment, had already in the years 1883-5 secured the possession of our first colonies in Africa and the Southern Ocean. But there was a good deal of confused thought in the enthusiasm which prompted these attempts; they were, in fact, experiments, the only practical results of which one might expect to be the destruction of many illusions; they were mere decorative ornaments of the Empire, and scarcely affected the essential conditions of its life. When the old Emperor died, Germany was still a purely Continental Power; and Bismarck's external policy always retained its essentially Continental leaning.

This was the position in which William II found matters on his accession. He was heir to Bismarck, but prepared to augment the inheritance that had come to him, and, if the necessity arose, to take the administration of it into his own hands. If at first he was but a youthful sovereign, face to face with an all-powerful minister who had held office for twenty-six years and could place the foundation of the Empire to his credit, on the other hand his fervent nature, the ambition of

* 'Die Teilung der Erde.'

youth lusting for action, were bound to whisper to him before very long that he was called upon to add the actual possession of power to the name and title of Kaiser. We need not here discuss whether the breach between William II and Bismarck was a necessity or no; all we will say is, that it did not arise solely from personal motives. The deeper reasons for it were matters of internal policy; and from that point of view it was indubitably creditable to the young Emperor that he resisted the allurements of his aged Chancellor towards a retrogressive revision of the Constitution which would have put the Social-democratic Opposition out of action. But there were also reasons of external policy; and although, at the moment, the question involved only Russia and Austria, it seems that the Emperor's thoughts were already directed towards a departure from the purely 'Continental' aims of Bismarck's policy. Be that as it may, by the dismissal of Bismarck and the consequent shock to national sentiment, the young Emperor at once incurred a personal liability which he could scarcely hope to wipe out. By this estrangement from a large portion of the German nation his character underwent a rough schooling before he could begin to develope his own scheme of policy.

From the moment when William II needed no longer to share his authority with the man whose genius had created it, he was able to carry out unhindered his personal conceptions of the vocation of a king. The new spirit in his administration, which ever since that time has constantly forced men, German and non-German, to concern themselves with the personality of the Emperor, appeared at first both startling and defiant. In foreign countries especially, wrong ideas began to be formed as to political conditions in Germany. Because the conduct of the Emperor did not correspond with the position of a ruler under a parliamentary constitution, people fancied that the Germans were living under an absolutist system, not far removed from Russian autocracy; moreover, unfriendly criticism of this nature had a weakness for clothing itself in the garb of a superior-minded zeal for freedom. And it cannot be denied that some manifestations of the Emperor's own feelings, certain traits of

Imperial masterfulness, have not seldom encouraged these ideas. As a matter of fact, Germany can exhibit institutions far more democratic, and far more individual freedom, than is commonly believed abroad. For instance, the sovereign power of the Emperor is controlled by a double system of checks; in the first place—as might be expected from the historical development of the Empire—by the federal nature of the Constitution, which excludes a pure parliamentarism; and secondly, by the duplicated machinery of a Reichstag reposing on the broadest possible democratic electorate, and—so far as Prussia is concerned—of the Prussian Landtag with its two Houses. But the mere articles of the Constitution do not exhaust the checks upon absolutism; account must also be taken of a long series of institutions, political and social, which determine the distribution of the social forces.

There can be no doubt that in Germany the great forces of Capital are kept in far stricter control than in, say, the United States; and that the intellectual life of our Universities enjoys a greater independence from State control than is to be seen under, say, the centralised system of France. The selfishness of social interests finds in Germany a strong counterpoise in the shape of a body of expert and disinterested officials; and the risk of a general depression of the people by a single central power is neutralised by the internal autonomy of the Federal States and the large franchises of the great self-governing communes. Even the pressure of a universally coercive code of manners is less powerful in Germany than elsewhere to affect the richness of life and the right of the individual to freedom of movement, which are the outcome of our national development. It is evident that the preliminary conditions for even the most modest monarchical absolutism are here almost entirely absent. In short, whatever objections may be taken to certain particular actions and deliverances of the Emperor, I would not at any price dispense with the special form of monarchy that we enjoy. All countries cannot be judged alike by the same exclusive formula of political salvation; each must be viewed, as Burke has taught us, according to its peculiar needs, as determined by its history, by the living factors of its political and

social structure, and, lastly, by its position on the earth's surface from the point of view of military geography.

For these reasons, the attempt to implant in Germany parliamentary institutions, as approved by the accepted tests in other countries, would not, without considerable modifications, be an ideal policy; indeed, the elements constituting our political parties and the federal nature of our Empire would be the first obstacles to it. And for the same reason I should consider it anything but a blessing, were the type of ruler classically defined by Thiers in the words 'le roi règne, mais il ne gouverne pas' to be imported into Germany regardless of our historical development. The greater, on the one hand, the strength of those organisms which constitute the Nation-States of our day, the wider, on the other, the spread of equality and democracy in society, the more onerous grows the task of the political philosopher who seeks to discover the effective principles on which should be selected the leaders to whom the national future is to be entrusted. Some nations, like the French, feel constrained to make their selection depend on a single principle. Germans are perhaps neither logical enough nor radical enough, they are certainly too little *doctrinaire* and at the same time too well grounded in political history, to bind down the whole wealth of life to one dry formula; they observe that more than one such principle of selection may co-exist, in fact that perhaps it is the very combination of them that affords the soundest guarantee for the 'selection of the fittest.' And hence it is that we present to view that motley mixture of monarchical, bureaucratic, self-governing, and democratic institutions, which the foreigner finds it so difficult to take in at a glance. And first, as to the bureaucracy, in whose ranks the individual public servant climbs slowly but surely to the top, we do not forget that it was the official class which, a century ago, brought about the reform of State and Society in Prussia, that it took a leading part in framing the constitution of the Empire, and that within the same Empire it has made social legislation possible; nor, on the other hand, can we shut our eyes to the fact that this official class, while socially disinterested, may at times assume a certain class character, and that it does not allow room enough for the free initiative of a strong

personality. To balance this, come into play the democratic principles which operate in the Reichstag and in most of the State parliaments, indispensable on their side for giving expression to the ever-varying configuration of Society, for furthering the political education of the individual, and for giving free scope to the play of ambition and political capacity—qualities which cannot be counted among the gifts more peculiarly German. We can see, however, at the same time in the working of the party-machines, with their powerful, often somewhat bureaucratic organisation, a one-sidedness which has an eye to partial interests only, and is often blind to those of the nation. And then we crown the edifice with the hereditary leadership of the Monarchy, with all the prestige of its historical traditions, with its independence of parties and classes—an hereditary dignity, it is true, but one to which the words of Goethe apply:

‘Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der täglich sie erobern muss.’*

It is an office with lofty claims, but one that postulates a real personality behind it.

It is in this spirit that the Emperor has sought to bring his own individuality into play. Even in foreign countries—if I may here borrow a few sentences from a speech of my own—he has so made his mark that the expression ‘the Kaiser’ has almost become once more a title applied to him alone, as denoting a personality which, in all state-gatherings of crowned heads, distinguishes him from the rest. And with this distinctive personality he has stepped out into the midst of his subjects, and put forth his whole strength in every decisive question of politics that has come before the country; he has taken part in every question that has stirred our intellectual life, not by the facile utterance of meaningless platitudes, but by taking sides, by confessions of faith, by leading, attacking, challenging. Thus for twenty-five years he has been standing in the hard light of day, at every moment visible and looked for, watched and criticised, applauded and blamed. There have been moments

* ‘Tis only he deserves both Life and Freedom,
Who day by day must struggle to be free.’ (‘Faust,’ Pt. ii, Sc. 5.)

in which he took the words out of the mouth of an enthusiastic nation, and moments in which he stung them far and wide into fierce contradiction—some hours indeed, in which he seemed to have lost touch with his most loyal followers. A flood of bitter criticism— heavier even than that levelled of old at Bismarck—has been brought to bear on the Emperor, for the German always prefers to manifest his interest in politics in the form of criticism. The present generation, which places the right divine of the individual higher than ever before, when face to face with this one man, forgot all its tolerance; so frequent were the challenges, that men almost unlearned the duty of giving, even to Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's.

William II has desired to be something more than the heir of a great name, the mere representative of an institution. He has striven for no lower an object than to be the real leader of the nation. And yet his personality does not seem to embody that resolute simplicity characteristic of the born leader of men, but, in its singular mixture of traditional and modern traits, embraces a whole world of contradictions. It has often seemed as if, in the blood of this Hohenzollern, the mercurial adaptability of the Coburg and the obstinacy of the Guelf were contending for mastery. On one side a conception of his duties as a monarch, directed by a religious and extremely personal sense of responsibility—in which, however, a French writer saw only the expression of the incomprehensible '*mysticisme allemand*'; a strongly marked taste for all that has become historic, all that is anchored fast to authority, tradition, and discipline of life; and a predilection for the Prussian words of military command, definite and incisive as they are, even in contests for which they were not suited. On the other side, the thoroughly modern man, sanguine in temperament and speech, singularly receptive and impressionable, struggling to understand every problem of business, of commerce, of science or art which the many-sided and congested life of the present day thrusts upon us; a monarch, in short, the tenor of whose life and leanings has carried him immeasurably far from the simpler type of his forefathers.

The Emperor lives in an era of social democratisation,

in which nevertheless a yearning for the aristocratic realisation of the individual has been re-awakened. Hence come his attempts to meet the levelling tendencies of the present by throwing into the opposite scale the traditional forces of the distant past. His imagination never soars so visibly as on those occasions when it attaches itself to historical reminiscences, principally of course those of his long line of ancestors, who created the Prussian State in the 17th and 18th centuries; for him the past itself seems to be once more alive, when at Marienburg in West Prussia he calls to mind the sword-play of the Knights of the Teutonic Order and their civilising labours, or when in the vaults of the Town Hall of Bremen he recalls the maritime supremacy of the Hanseatic League. The same tendency comes into view in minor matters, as, for instance, when he presented the 'Abbess' of a Protestant nunnery with an artistic staff of office, or paid one of the longest-forgotten of the medieval Margraves of Brandenburg the undeserved compliment of a white marble monument. Again, he rebuilds Hohkönigsburg in Alsace, with its reminiscences of the Hohenstaufens; while at Saalburg in the Taunus he restores the shape of a Roman camp-fortress in its minutest details. The whole past of Germany rises up again to life in the historical images that throng his speeches.

England, above all countries, accustomed as she is to the imposing historical continuity whose charm we feel in London and Edinburgh, at Oxford and Cambridge, will probably be in the best position to appreciate these tastes. But there is a marked and obvious difference between the two countries, the cause of which is embedded in their past. In Germany the sum total of historical reminiscences may be even larger than in England, but it exists in a more scattered shape, and is connected not so much with the general development of the nation as with the local interest, knightly or ecclesiastical, belonging to a particular district or city. And for this reason the Emperor's historic tendency of mind is easily taken for a mere antiquarian amusement, a cult of romanticism and of the tastes that are most alien to modern life. They are wrong, however, who think thus. William II is no Frederick William IV, no royal roman-

ticist, living more in the past than among the duties of the present; he is a modern man. The stories of those days of dynastic and chivalric greatness may make his pulse beat quicker, but he is not on that account a reactionary who would recall them into existence.

However strong his sense of his own monarchical personality may be, he has not as yet carried it to the length of an actual encounter with the democratic elements of the Constitution. He reconquered his authority from an Imperial Chancellor, who had wielded it for a generation with matchless vigour; but, in spite of occasional strong language, he has never attempted to extend that authority against the constitutional organs of the State; in all his dealings he has proved himself to be a monarch loyal to the Constitution. As I have already hinted, one of the principal grounds in his conflict with Bismarck in 1890 lay just here; and we have learnt only lately through the medium of Prof. Otto Hintze's Jubilee oration in Berlin, that one of the first acts of William II on his accession was to order the immediate destruction of the political will of Frederick William IV, enjoining on his successors on the Prussian throne the abrogation of the Prussian constitution, lest it should at some future time work mischief for one of his successors. Again, it was on the decision of the Emperor that a constitution was granted some years ago to Alsace-Lorraine, on the basis of a general and equal suffrage—an experiment that would have been impossible in the days of Bismarck. Finally we must not conceal from ourselves that during the reign of William II the influence of the Reichstag has increased far more rapidly than in the period 1871-88; and some good judges are inclined to think that the Constitution of the Empire is gradually developing into a more parliamentary system, in spite of all the opposing forces.

Another reason why the Emperor cannot be a reactionary is to be found in his very intimate connexion with the driving powers of modern life. Nowhere is he, with his particular intellectual tastes, so much at home as in the world of scientific discoveries, of commercial and business wants; he combines a very real and practical knowledge of these subjects with the military profession which is peculiarly his own. Personally he has taken the

lead in the encouragement of sport in the English fashion, and in the enjoyments of a sailor, and has thus helped to create a new type of life for his own subjects. In the more familiar, as in the more stately forms of social intercourse he stands out as a new ideal of a ruler; and he seems to reflect the whole of modern Germany in his own person as one of her most efficient representatives. I do not of course mean that the Emperor is the cause, and modern Germany the result; the relation might be more accurately inverted. The Emperor is at once a son of the new Germany, and an exponent of those modern forces which have come into effective being in that country.

In surveying the changes that have occurred in the internal structure of Germany during the last twenty-five years, we may first consider the rapid growth of population; and, from this point of view, the great economic revolution which has taken place appears simply as an inevitable result.

The total number of inhabitants, increasing annually by from 800,000 to 900,000 souls, rose from 49,000,000 in 1888 to 67,000,000 in 1910, and will reach 70,000,000 in 1915. (Students of history may perhaps remember how Prince Schwarzenberg, who was Austrian Minister in 1850, dreamed a colossal dream of an Empire of 70,000,000 souls, which was to embrace the German Confederation, as well as the whole Austrian Empire of that day; yet one-half only of that area will now very shortly produce the very number which was then deemed portentous.) The problem presented to the administration of Kaiser Wilhelm II was consequently, in terms of economics, how to feed an additional 18,000,000 out of the produce of their own country. The problem has been solved; and that without returning to the days of the early eighties, when from 200,000 to 250,000 souls emigrated annually from Germany, and were thus lost for ever to the nation. That emigration should during the last generation have been reduced to an insignificant figure, and the whole additional population absorbed into national German industries, has only been rendered possible by a complete revolution in the industrial composition of society. When we realise that, according to the statistics of

occupations for 1882, 20,500,000 souls were employed in manufacture and trade, while in 1907 the number was 34,600,000, we shall be justified in assuming that almost the whole increment of nearly 18,000,000, accruing between 1888 and 1913, has been thus accounted for.

No less remarkable is the corresponding alteration in the proportions of the rural and urban populations. To illustrate the growth on the urban side, I will only refer to the fact that the number of towns of over 100,000 inhabitants in Germany is now 48 (in Great Britain it is 41, in the United States 51), and that at this moment one-fifth of the total population is to be found in towns of that size. There are places in the Rhineland, in Westphalia, and in Upper Silesia, lately promoted into this class, which at the beginning of the Emperor's reign were mere country villages; their names are even to-day unknown to the majority of Germans. Germany has, in short, become a manufacturing country with a mostly urban population.

I will not burden the imagination of my readers with the colossal masses of statistics which are generally adduced to illustrate the growth in our industrial productiveness; many of the figures have been carefully tabulated for purposes of comparison in the work of Archibald Hurd and Henry Castle, as also in the address delivered by Prof. Harms. I select a few of them for reference, merely as specimens of the general growth. In the year 1885, 3,600,000 tons of pig-iron were smelted in Germany; in 1912 this had risen to about 10,000,000 tons. Since 1891, the output of coal has increased from 73,000,000 to 160,000,000 tons. Not being the victim of an uncontrolled craze for statistics, I will admit that a similar rise is to be noted in England and America; and, furthermore, that a great part of the increased production, being specially intended for the home market, was naturally due to the enormous increase in the home consumption corresponding to the growth of population. But it is nevertheless certain, that the home-market alone could not have absorbed the whole of this colossal increase, and consequently that an ever-growing proportion of it was directed to foreign markets.

Here we may notice another remarkable table of figures. The value of German export trade in the year

1891 was 7 milliards of marks; in 1912 it was 19 milliards; and in the course of the present Jubilee year (the statistics of which for the first seven months point to extraordinarily favourable results) it will have grown to 20 milliards of marks, or 1,000,000,000*l.* To take one item only of German export trade, the value of manufactured goods has risen from 2.1 milliards in 1890 to over 5 milliards in 1912. Closely connected with this is the fact that Germany's share in the world's merchant-shipping, 7.4 per cent. in 1891, was in 1911 10.1 per cent. Here again I am limiting my quotations to a very few figures, the special significance of which will appear when we compare them with the corresponding figures for Germany in the seventies and eighties of the last century, and with the manufacturing and commercial statistics of other nations. Without entering into wider comparisons, I will only point to one well-known fact, viz. that in the last twenty-five years Germany has taken rank with England and America among the leading manufacturing and commercial nations. I may add that this advance of Germany has not been brought about at the expense of England or America, nor has it prejudiced their progress; it only shows that Germany has been able to take her part in the general growth of industrial productiveness and commercial intercourse, however fast the pace may have been.

I must now go in somewhat greater detail into the effects which this conversion of Germany into a leading industrial state has brought to pass in the social edifice and the political tendencies of the nation. In the first place, the growth of industrialism has been followed by a remarkable increase of private wealth.* During the last generation, Germany has developed out of a nation of moderate incomes and frugal habits into one that is distinctly well-to-do, and lives in great comfort. The collective wealth of the German nation is estimated at 320 milliards of marks (16,000,000,000*l.*)—a figure which was at first stoutly contested, but is now accepted as about correct. Even if it has been placed too high, we

* The portion of the work '*Soziale Kultur und Volkswohlfahrt u.s.w.*,' which deals with this point, has just been published separately under the title '*Deutschlands Volkswohlstand 1888-1913*,' by Karl Helfferich (Berlin, Georg Stilke).

may say that the national wealth stands at about the same level as that of England or France, although the ratio per head is somewhat lower. There has been occasionally some scepticism in other countries as to this rapid growth of general prosperity in Germany—a scepticism strengthened by the falling prices of Imperial and State loans. But this fall has been of late years a general phenomenon; and it must be remembered that the pressing financial demands of the growing industries which have been partly brought into existence by the annual growth of population divert from the money-market a large proportion of the means which in a stationary population would have been at the disposal of Government. No doubt, a country which has to bear the cost of one of the strongest armies in the world, of a very strong fleet, and of a very expensive social legislation, has taken upon itself a heavy burden; but, as our latest foreign critics all agree, the burden is easily borne. From the point of view of political economy, indeed, the question may, perhaps, be raised whether, as the nation grows richer, the taste for luxuries will not increase, and in a greater ratio than the wealth; and there are some patriotic people who are watching this, perhaps only transitory, development with some anxiety.

Let me add a few more words on this growth of industrialism in modern Germany. Not only has it resulted in the concentration of enormous wealth in the hands of the captains of industry, but it has created a new social type in public life; and it is significant of the Emperor's modernising tendencies that, diverging in this respect from the Prussian family tradition, in his daily life he likes to find himself surrounded by men of this class. This new type is represented by men like Prince Henckel-Donnersmark, Herren Ballin and Rathenau, Siemens and Gwinner, and the houses of Krupp, Thyssen and Stinnes. This new type of leader has been selected on a new principle, namely one based on social and economic grounds, which takes its place by the side of the older system for political reasons; it is representative of the new Germany, but not of Germany as a whole. Some generations ago foreigners were pleased to admire the idealistic Germany of Goethe and Hegel, all the more perhaps because, from a political and economical point of

view, it was alike unpretending and harmless; and, when that gave way to the Germany of Bismarck and Moltke, they refused to see the progress thus made, forgetting that the intellectual and political forces of a country spring from one and the same root. Now a third Germany is making its appearance on the scene, but neither as a solvent of, nor as a substitute for, its two predecessors; it takes its place beside them as their complement. Similarly, the greatness of England in the past and present has lain, first, in her services to the intellectual progress of mankind, next in her political position as a maritime world-power, and lastly in the direction of her economic and technical development. *Exempla trahunt.*

We may now consider the results of the growth of the industrial habit in Germany on the social condition of the working class. Anyone who seeks to learn what the State has done in the matter of social improvement will find trustworthy information, to the minutest details, in certain chapters of the magnificent semi-official work by H. von Behr-Pinnow, H. Dietrich and H. Kayserling. On the principle of compulsory State-insurance, which has been adopted during the last ten years by most of the leading countries on the pattern of Germany, I do not propose to say anything here, and will confine myself to quoting some of the most important statistics in the Appendix to Prof. Harms' oration. At the present moment there are in Germany some 14,000,000 souls insured against sickness, 25,000,000 against accident, and about 16,000,000 against old age and invalidity. Since the passing of the Insurance Laws some 9 milliards of marks (450,000,000*l.*) have been expended in payments, with a regular annual average in the last years of 750,000,000 marks (37,500,000*l.*). The number of individuals to whom these payments were made amounts to about 100,000,000; and every year adds 8,000,000 to that number. It would be carrying coals to Newcastle to attempt to give here any description of the benefits of these institutions; indeed, some of our critics are inclined to regard the growing desire of ever-widening social strata for inclusion in the State-insurance system as tending to an excessive expansion of the principle, and prophesy danger therefrom to individual initiative among the people.

Side by side with this, however, we see a permanent rise in wages, a rise which, generally speaking, is moving faster than the parallel growth in the cost of living. Hence hostile critics cannot but admit the fact that the working-man's means of subsistence are now on the road to permanent improvement; and, along with them, his desire to share in the intellectual benefits of civilisation, and to take part in political and social life, naturally grows stronger. Nor is it only the action of the State that has brought this about; a large share must be attributed to the political organisations of the workers, and to social-democratic Unions, as well as to Christian-socialist Guilds. Thus the theories of Karl Marx may be said to have been reduced 'ad absurdum' even in the land of their birth. Neither his prophesied pauperisation of the masses nor the attrition of the middle classes has taken place; on the contrary, the growth of industrialism has considerably raised the standard of living for the worker, while it has called into existence large new classes in the middle ranks of society. I will venture no opinion on the question, which has been discussed in England even more vigorously than in Germany, to what extent the system of protective duties has affected the working man's standard of living, but will simply note that, in comparing the working classes of the two countries, it is often forgotten that their habits and requirements take to some extent different directions. It is therefore delusive to compare simply the prices of articles which one side values highly and the other depreciates, in order to get an idea of their relative economic positions.

In the next place, how has the industrial development of Germany affected agriculture? I reply that in Germany the development of manufactures has not depressed or well-nigh ruined the agricultural class, as was the case in England in the 19th century; far from that, a large increase in the productiveness of rural labour has taken place. In fact, it has been ascertained that the industrial development, by increasing the demand of the home market, stands in the closest relation with agricultural progress. There is no question that the system of agricultural protection has inflicted some hardship and additional expenses on consumers; but, on the whole, it has so far

justified itself that very few people now dream of its immediate and complete abolition. If one may venture on a broad prophecy, it is probable that in some years' time a revision of the tariff will make a moderate reduction in certain excessive items; but this is unlikely to have any serious effect on the whole.

While we are considering the favourable aspects of the new industrial development, we shall have no difficulty in recognising that, among the conditions required for their stability, there is one element of uncertainty. The production of manufactures must always correspond more and more with a vigorous export, and with the assurance that the markets for exportation will not shrink beyond a certain point. But the present age is specially distinguished by the vast and ever-increasing growth of the great empires and areas of the world's commerce, above all of Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, and by the fact that one uncivilised area after another is politically or economically occupied, and one open door after another closed, by some European Power. In dealing with this danger Germany has to choose between two possibilities. On the one hand, she may limit her interests to the purely commercial, and thus gradually find herself falling into the position of a Greater Belgium, depending on the good will of others, and hence enjoying but a precarious existence—a rôle which, whatever else may be said for it, is unworthy of a nation like the German, that believes in its own destiny; or, on the other, she may put forth all her power in order to secure her proper share in the partition of the globe, so far as any remains to divide. The latter is the road which the Germans have determined to follow. We recognise the necessity of acquiring colonies, in order to extend and secure markets for the import of raw materials and export of manufactured articles, and, as opportunities offer for 'keeping open the door,' the necessity of finding our way into those districts where, up to this time, free competition has existed for all nations. We have been obliged to forgo the acquisition of those larger areas of colonisation to which, had we possessed them, we might have directed our own emigrants. Indeed, it has been our misfortune, even in the 19th century, in the very years of our national unification,

to make a present of more than five millions of Germans for the improvement of the commerce and civilisation of the United States, and thus to lose them permanently for the purposes of our national culture; but we may rejoice, at any rate, in thinking that we can still direct the overflow of German intelligence and energy to any spot on the great stage of the world which remains open, and thus may give the daring spirits among our youthful middle class, which is now too apt to fritter away its existence in a narrow and listless Philistinism, a chance of emulating the splendid example of England, which for centuries past has inspired that entire nation with the freshness of youth and the joy of enterprise. This is the natural and well-justified aim of what is rather too magniloquently called the German world-policy.

This aim the Emperor was among the first to adopt, and he has fought more stoutly than any for the means of realising it. It is, indeed, at this point that all these separate forces converge—the needs of our economic system and the future potentialities of our people, our historical development during the post-Bismarckian period, and the personality of the Emperor. It is the point which will determine the position of the Emperor in universal history, as the man who coined the expressions, 'A Greater Germany outside itself' and 'Our future on the water'; the point, finally, at which he has turned to practical effect the reminiscences of German history.

Though English critics may anticipate from these facts a struggle 'which will decide whether British or German civilisation is in future to dominate the world,' the programme as understood by Germans is far more modest, even though it involves in their relations with countries beyond the seas the recovery, perhaps at the twelfth hour, of at least a portion of what was denied to them through the '*injuria temporum*' in the period of their depression from the 16th to the 19th century.

It is no part of my task to describe, even in its main features, the development of the foreign policy of Germany during the last twenty-five years; I may refer for that purpose to the well-informed and excellent work of Prof. Felix Rachfahl, which, by displaying the historical connexion of events, corrects several mistaken judgments

passed by German critics upon the policy of the Emperor. Nor is it necessary that I should add any further proof to that given by Messrs Hurd and Castle, in order to show that the transition from a Continental to a world-policy compelled the German government to provide itself with defences which, in case of necessity, would be available for the defence of their own coasts and of their existing interests beyond the seas. It is not surprising that, belonging to the rival nation, I should be unable to follow all the lines of argument or accept every conclusion in the work to which I refer; but I must testify to the conscientiousness and impersonality of observation displayed by these authors. They have given the English public a book which, by rendering possible a true comprehension of facts, may be of greater use than any number of well-intentioned phrases forgotten as soon as uttered. Their opening words are very true:

‘Among the popular errors which exist with regard to Germany, none is farther from the truth than the belief that her fleet is the arbitrary and artificial creation of the Emperor William II, and, but for him, would never have attained formidable dimensions. This idea is not only erroneous, but exceedingly mischievous; for it is likely to lead to false conclusions as to the probable development of Germany’s position in the world and her future relations to other naval powers.’

I may therefore confine myself in the following observations to a discussion of some of the leading considerations which determined alike the general and the naval policy of the Emperor; and, above all, by summarising the outcome of the last twenty-five years, I will endeavour to answer the question, What is the outlook which present conditions afford?

It is unquestionable that William II has strong hereditary sympathies with England; he has always admired English habits and customs; and the greatness of English maritime development has helped to kindle in his receptive mind the idea of emulating that model. His first deviation from the foreign policy of the Bismarckian period, his first independent step on the new path, which was so vigorously condemned on that account by the disciples of Bismarck and the supporters of his Colonial

policy, was the treaty of 1890, which, after all, meant nothing more than that he proposed to carry on an over-sea policy for the future by the side of England. Such a policy was, of course, to be followed only so far as was possible without a mischievous reaction on our Continental relations. For, in order to get a correct general view of German policy, one must never leave out of sight one fundamental consideration, viz. the military situation as affected by geography. The position of Germany in the Continent of Europe, surrounded by the three strongest military powers, Russia, France and Austria-Hungary, not only compels us to maintain the strongest possible army, as the only safe insurance of national life against a European attack, but also obliges us, in our over-sea policy, never to lose sight of this Continental factor. As it was, there can be no doubt that the treaty of 1890 did much to further the *rapprochement* between France and Russia; and, on several occasions during the following decade, England had to learn that Germany was not prepared to go along with her beyond a certain point. There were moments indeed when people on the other side of the Channel were somewhat brusquely undeceived; while Germany, on her side, had to recognise that, in world-politics, the independence which every great nation claims cannot be secured without the possession of those means on which the decision in the struggle for existence between the peoples must ultimately depend.

There is a further consideration which illustrates the unfavourable nature of the conditions under which Germany entered the lists in the great world-competition. Owing to her geographical position, she possesses no 'natural' area for expansion; hence she has been forced to look for any empty spaces on the globe, which the previous political and economic partition of the world has left unoccupied. Let us remember that the lease of Kiaochow, the purchase of the Caroline Islands from Spain, the treaty about Samoa, the preliminaries for the projected Baghdad railway, the treaty with England as to the future of the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, all fall within the period 1898-9, the years when the new world-policy of Germany first became a visible fact; and we shall be ready to agree that the maritime

base for all these world-wide engagements was extraordinarily narrow. We might even object that, modest as these efforts were from the point of view of the World-Powers, yet, spatially considered, the programme was both too wide and too multifarious; and, in obedience to the maxim '*qui trop embrasse mal étreint*,' we might have preferred a closer concentration on some simpler and more attainable end. To-day opinion in favour of concentrated action has become general amongst us; at that time every possible chance that offered had to be seized. And, as German capital invested or economically involved abroad continued to increase, it became constantly more incumbent upon us to ensure its safety by the possession of a strong fleet.

On such considerations the naval policy of Germany has been based. I need not here repeat the stages of its evolution as a necessity forced on us by the growth, itself inevitable, of our world-policy; they are links, in fact, of the same chain. It is matter of common knowledge that the Emperor, supported by Herr von Tirpitz, employed his great abilities, his practical experience, his emotional force, in the effort to create a German Navy. And it is not improbable that the position of William II in universal history will hereafter be determined by this achievement. Everyone is aware that by the construction of a fleet an entirely new problem was created for the foreign policy of Germany. In England there arose an increasing sense of danger from the growth of this new maritime factor. People thought themselves justified in charging even the Emperor himself (although at a very critical point in English history he had shown himself to be the truest friend that Great Britain had in Germany) with aggressive designs; and it was decided to introduce a new era of Continental understandings, whereby the apparently menacing aspirations of Germany as a world-power might be controlled.

Now I may confidently assert that German statesmen did not rush blindly into the dangers which this new political combination involved; on the contrary, they clearly foresaw them. But they appear to have said to themselves, 'This conjunction is a transitional process, through which we must inevitably pass, even though it involve the danger of our meeting with ever-increasing

resistance, the danger of forging still closer links in the "Entente Cordiale" between England and France (as in fact occurred in consequence of the Morocco affair), the danger of incurring England's hostility in every quarter of the globe, an hostility of which we had actual experience in the years of the "isolation" policy.' All this was considered, we may feel sure; but not without the conviction that, some day, the transitional stage would pass, with the recognition of the principle that equality of strength confers equality of rights.

I do not propose to recur to the period 1904-11, during which so much was written both to stir up passions and to allay them. Nor do I think it justifiable to explain, even in a friendly way, to a man who believes himself to be seriously threatened—and, as an historian, I believe that I can appreciate the train of thought in England—that he is wrong in giving way to this feeling. But, in a paper on the Anglo-German problem contributed to 'Nord und Süd' (June 1912), Mr Balfour said,

'The danger lies in the co-existence of that marvellous instrument of warfare which embraces the German Army and Navy with the assiduous—I had almost said the organised—advocacy of a policy which it seems impossible to reconcile with the peace of the world or the rights of nations.'

We might reply that it is just the pacific attitude of the Emperor which, in more than one instance, has exorcised this danger, if it was really so near as was supposed. We might point out, further, that the feeling of danger can nowhere be stronger than in Germany, where for years together we have been called upon to keep our nerves calm under the stifling pressure of the colossal armies of our neighbours in Russia and France on our eastern and western frontiers, and of nearly the whole of the English fleet on our North Sea coast. We might ask, finally, whether it is a sound policy, when a boiler is charged with potential energy to danger-point, to try to avert the possibility of an explosion by screwing down all its safety-valves. But I will not venture on the stony ground of political argument; I will rather confine myself to the simple establishment of the fact that the force of reason in the last few years has begun to make that possible which Mr Balfour described as impossible.

We are to-day entitled to believe that the transitional period of 1904-11 has at length been safely traversed.

The fact has long been generally recognised in England that the commercial rivalry of Germany does not threaten the position of England, that the two business-concerns are closely interdependent, and that, far from injuring one another, they are mutually benefited by exchange of goods, by competition and by the spur of emulation; on this point there is not now any real difference of opinion. But it is a still more momentous fact that the political causes of ill-feeling have gradually lost their significance. The first condition of such a transformation was that by the closing of the Morocco question one source of distrust should be dried up, and that, after England had discharged certain obligations required of her by previous treaties, an immediately active cause of variance should be definitively dismissed; for no serious person in Europe now believes that, after forty years of peace, we are to-day dreaming of attacking France without cause.

The close of that crisis (1911) brought along with it a general change in the relations of the world, which had its reaction in Germany. In January 1912, immediately after that event, I published a small pamphlet entitled 'Deutschland und England: Heeres- oder Flotten-Verstärkung?' in which I indicated the necessity of shifting the centre of gravity of our foreign policy and of our corresponding military preparations back to the Continent of Europe; and the course of events has apparently justified this conclusion. So far as regards the pace at which our naval armaments have grown, we have now nearly reached the limit of our needs. It has been recognised on both sides that it is impossible for either party, even if we leave the rest of the world out of sight, to bind itself permanently by any form of treaty; but it is something to have been able to come to a frank exchange of views as to the proportion to be fixed between our respective navies, without expecting the suggested figure to have the mystic virtues of a cabalistic charm. In the hard world of realities, an improvement of temper cannot indeed, by itself, reconcile opposing interests, but it can create a more favourable atmosphere, in which a friendly compromise

can be discussed. It is, above all, important that in the last two years both countries have come to recognise that no real, or at any rate incurable, opposition of interests exists, and that, on the contrary, they have many important interests in common. The points of direct friction between England and Germany are, in fact, so few that one might almost venture on the paradox that their very scantiness hinders the achievement of that accord which for both sides is so desirable. The greater, therefore, is the importance of those common interests, such as the maintenance of Turkey in Asia, of the integrity of China, and above all—I do not hesitate to add this explicitly—of universal peace. It is a subject of congratulation that during the recent period of tension between the two groups of European powers, England and Germany kept in close touch with each other. Their harmony of action on that occasion has revived the idea of the possibility of a mutual working arrangement; it has also engendered a feeling of reciprocal confidence, which has not only affected the shifting public opinion of the two countries, but has contributed to bring about a *rapprochement* between the responsible political leaders on either side. Thus the very crisis which, according to the above-quoted expression of opinion from an eminent quarter, ought to have caused an explosion of the offensive forces of Germany, has really demonstrated that the function of these forces is to promote peace.

As this impression gains strength in England, it may be legitimate to hope that the *détente*, thus carefully prepared and utilised, will eventually lead to an Anglo-German agreement. Such an arrangement, embracing, as it naturally would, both the Near East and Central Africa, would inspire the German people with the conviction that England is prepared loyally to throw open to them the roads which have hitherto been kept systematically barred against them. In any case, the ties which bind the two nations together are, after all, stronger than the rivalries which divide them. Let us call these ties to mind; and it may well be that the close of the first twenty-five years of William II's reign will see Anglo-German relations resume the friendly tone which characterised its earlier years.

HERMANN ONCKEN.

Art. 14.—THE TWO LAND CAMPAIGNS.

1. *Rural Regeneration in England.* By William Sutherland. London: Methuen, 1913.
2. *A Unionist Agricultural Policy.* By a Group of Unionists. London: Murray, 1913.
3. *The Occupying Ownership of Land.* By Bevil Tolle-mache. London: Murray, 1913.

WITHIN the last quarter of a century a variety of causes have led to the discovery of rural England. Agricultural labourers became voters, and politicians realised that their friendship is worth cultivating. From its immobility and the peculiarities of its nature, land offered itself as the subject of financial experiments, as the play-ground of social and political theorists, as the gold-mine from which commercial industries might extract relief from their own share in the burden of taxation. At the same time, attention has been strongly drawn to the hygienic advantages of rural life by the physical, moral, and mental effects of the excessive development of towns. In our urban population doctors recognise signs of physical degeneracy, soldiers detect a failing stamina, psychologists observe symptoms of a change of temperament. Country air is recommended as a tonic for the national health. In one form or another, social economists, philanthropists, and political reformers have taken up the cry of a return to the land.

In this concentration of attention upon rural life it has been found that the conditions of the restorative were themselves unhealthy. Symptoms of disease were disclosed to the public, often with a magnifying glass. But a number of the so-called symptoms have little to do with agriculture, though, owing to the different points of view from which the land is approached, it is difficult to separate the technical, economic, social, and political aspects of the subject. Unfortunately political considerations predominate so largely that there is a risk lest practical and effective remedies should be rejected for more flashy experiments attractive to townsmen. Apart from exaggeration or prejudice, no one would venture on the unqualified assertion that, under the existing system,

the land is always put to its most productive use, returns on the average the greatest yield of which it is capable, maintains the largest possible proportion of the population, or produces the maximum of social contentment and political stability. The real sickness of agriculture is evidenced by the progress of rural depopulation, the diminishing area of arable land, and the growing dependence of the country on foreign food supplies. So far as the agricultural industry itself is concerned, these are the primary symptoms of disease. If attention could be successfully concentrated upon them, most of the subsidiary symptoms would cure themselves. Yet, owing to the wide range which is covered by the so-called land question, it is impossible to ignore the simultaneous consideration of the low rates of agricultural wages, the blind alley of agricultural employment, the scarcity of rural cottages, and, though the cause cannot be altogether regarded as a permanent evil, the paralysing effect of the break-up of large landed estates.

Statistics are generally dull, and, if not taken with many allowances for different methods of computation, often deceptive. But they sometimes state broad truths more effectively than words. For this purpose figures

TABLE I

Shows the decrease in rural workers in England and Wales during the last sixty years, as compared with the contemporary increase in the total population.

Year.	Farm Workers, Male and Female.	Decrease.	Total Population.	Increase.
1851.	1,376,051	—	17,927,609	—
1861.	1,296,805	79,246	20,066,224	2,138,615
1871.	1,073,084	223,721	22,712,266	2,640,042
1881.	965,217	107,867	25,974,439	3,262,173
1891.	866,034	99,183	29,002,525	3,028,086
1901.	727,140	138,894	32,527,843	3,525,318
1911.	722,000*	5,140*	36,070,492	3,542,649

* These figures are for the year 1908.

may be usefully employed to illustrate some of the symptoms of agricultural sickness.

From Table I it will be seen that, while the total population of England and Wales has doubled, the rural workers have dwindled by half. In other words, the demand for agricultural produce has been increased within the last forty years by eighteen million mouths; but the agricultural producers, who endeavour to meet the old as well as the new demand, have been reduced

TABLE II

Shows the density of population and the proportions of the rural population in the following countries.*

Country.	No. of Inhabitants per Square Kilometre.	Percentage of Occu- pied Population engaged in Agri- culture.
Austria	95 (1910)	60·9 (1900)
Italy	121 (1911)	59·4 (1901)
Denmark	71 (1911)	48·2 (1901)
France	74 (1911)	42·7 (1906)
United States	12 (1910)	35·9 (1900)
Germany	120 (1910)	35·2 (1907)
Switzerland	91 (1910)	30·9 (1900)
Netherlands	172 (1909)	30·7 (1899)
Belgium	252 (1910)	21·1 (1900)
Great Britain	177 (1911)	9·3 (1901)
England and Wales	239 (1911)	8·8 (1901)

* This Table is condensed from that given in the 'Times' for July 21, 1913. The dates after the figures are those of the latest census and of the latest occupational returns.

TABLE III

Shows the diminution in the area of arable land in England and Wales during the past forty years.

Year.	Acres.	Decrease. Acres.
1872	14,943,127	—
1882	13,891,763	1,051,364
1892	12,764,106	1,127,657
1902	12,102,995	661,111
1912	11,335,276	767,719
Total decrease		3,607,851

during the same period to scarcely more than half their former numbers. This decline, which is not only relative but absolute, is a feature peculiar in its magnitude to England, though it is also manifest to an infinitely less degree in Austria, Norway and Switzerland. In all other European countries, and in the United States, industrial development has increased urban populations with great rapidity, and rural populations have declined relatively

TABLE IV

Shows the number of live stock—horses, cattle, sheep and pigs—in England and Wales for 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1912.

Live Stock.	1871	1881	1891	1901	1912
Horses . . .	1,080,016	1,231,870	1,293,230	1,316,538	1,406,010
Cattle . . .	4,267,652	4,815,430	5,629,524	5,534,613	5,841,720
Sheep . . .	20,236,822	17,849,801	21,108,658	18,975,791	18,053,365
Pigs . . .	2,303,960	1,925,072	2,731,267	2,055,104	2,496,670
Totals . . .	27,888,450	25,822,173	30,762,679	27,882,046	27,797,765

TABLE V

Shows the increase in the average annual imports of agricultural produce in four septennial periods.*

Imports.	1876-82	1886-92	1896-1902	1906-12
	£	£	£	£
Live Cattle, Sheep and Pigs	7,977,000	8,743,000	9,863,000	5,614,000
Dead Meat	13,456,000	17,659,000	32,203,000	42,418,000
Rabbits, Poultry and Game	405,000	769,000	1,454,000	1,777,000
Dairy Produce	15,260,000	18,619,000	27,279,000	35,167,000
Lard	1,739,000	1,898,000	3,206,000	4,911,000
Eggs	2,406,000	3,273,000	5,036,000	7,473,000
Wheat and Wheat Flour	38,255,000	32,786,000	33,917,000	46,624,000
Other Grain and Meal	22,163,000	19,860,000	24,625,000	26,016,000
Vegetables	2,799,000	2,271,000	3,871,000	4,160,000
Totals	104,460,000	105,878,000	141,454,000	174,160,000

* It is to be noted that, owing to fluctuations in prices, the figures do not exactly measure the increase in quantities ('Agricultural Statistics,' 1912, vol. xlvii, part iv).

to the total growth. But in all of them the agricultural population has at the same time increased in numbers; there is no absolute decline. The absolute decrease in the rural population of England cannot, therefore, be explained by industrial progress only. Nor can it be due only to density of population. In Belgium, which has a larger population to the square mile than England, and in the Netherlands, which have practically the same

TABLE VI

Shows the average weekly earnings of the following classes of persons employed in agriculture in England in 1913.

Groups of Counties.	Ordinary Labourers.	Horsemen.	Cattlemen.	Shepherds.	All Classes.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Northern Counties . .	23 0	24 8	24 7	25 7	24 5
Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire . . . }	20 7	22 10	23 0	21 9	22 0
North-Western and Midland Counties. }	19 2	20 8	20 9	21 0	20 6
South-Midland and Eastern Counties. . }	17 6	19 6	19 9	20 2	19 3
South-Eastern Counties	18 7	20 8	21 1	22 4	20 8
South-Western Counties	17 4	18 4	18 11	19 2	18 5
Averages. . .	19 4	21 1	21 4	21 8	20 10

TABLE VII.

Summary of recorded sales by auction of agricultural land in England and Wales during the years 1910-11-12. Private contract sales are necessarily omitted. The figures may, therefore, probably be doubled. Monmouthshire is included in Wales.

Divisions.	1910.			1911.			1912.		
	acres	rds.	poles	acres	rds.	poles	acres	rds.	poles
1. Eastern and North-Eastern }	32,679	3	31	41,076	3	28	63,563	3	19
2. South-Eastern and East-Midland . . . }	19,963	2	32	45,266	3	7	31,573	3	39
3. West-Midland and South-Western. . . }	28,374	2	0	83,656	1	11	65,439	2	24
4. North and North-Western }	10,837	1	8	9,796	3	21	13,222	1	9
5. Cheshire, Lancashire and York-shire }	9,723	1	21	21,837	1	35	28,073	2	17
6. Wales	3,142	1	30	22,373	2	14	26,288	2	21

density as Great Britain, the number of rural workers has increased.

For nearly a century the rural population of England has been declining, not only relatively, but absolutely. The introduction of machinery has been one cause of the decrease. Hand labour has been to some extent superseded. The contraction of the arable area has been another cause of diminished employment. Though grass land is, of course, cultivated, and often highly cultivated, it employs fewer hands per acre than land under the plough. Wages are, therefore, less per acre, though they are higher for the individuals employed, because the care of live-stock requires continuous and skilful attention for nearly seven working days in the week. On arable land more wages are paid per acre, because more men are employed. But less wages are paid to individuals, because less continuous skill is required and the working days of the week are six, not seven. The average wages per head will, therefore, always be higher in counties which are not exclusively arable. A contraction of the arable area means less employment, less wages per acre, and less produce extracted from the soil. The loss has not been compensated by any equivalent increase in the number of live-stock (Table IV), which shows a considerable decline since 1891, and a slight decrease on 1901. In other words, the increased production of milk and meat has not made good the diminished production of bread.

The most potent cause of rural depopulation and of the present unhealthiness of agriculture, because it underlies and magnifies all other symptoms, has been the pressure of foreign competition and its effect upon prices. The outstanding difference between Great Britain and foreign countries lies not so much in differences of tenure as in the fact that British agriculturists have for years been exposed to free imports of food by the cheapest of all methods of carriage. Our home markets have been captured by nations working behind tariff walls. The growth of this pressure has been illustrated in Table V. Its effect has been to render certain operations of agriculture and their products unremunerative. Farming is in one sense the exact opposite of

manufacture. Manufacturers, after the initial cost has been met, multiply products at cheaper rates; but farming expenses are increased with every bushel that is forced from the soil above the normal yield. By the policy of Free Trade rural interests have been indisputably sacrificed to urban. But the real agricultural problem to-day will not be solved merely by insisting on the undeniable fact that the partial ruin of her farming industry is the price that England has paid for her commercial development. The fact is only mentioned to justify the invocation of State aid on a liberal scale. Foreign nations have expended millions of money, both directly and indirectly, on organisation for the capture of the British food market. Where they have spent in millions of pounds, the National Exchequer in this country has not contributed hundreds. For many years the staple products of British farming have been forced down to the point at which production ceases to be remunerative. Even now, when corn makes better prices, the cost of production has been so swollen by the additional financial burdens piled upon the land that the impulse afforded by the increased margin of profit has been to a great extent destroyed. Unlike manufacturers, farmers cannot pass on their load of new expenses to the consumer. It says much for the tenacity and enterprise of agriculturists that, in these adverse circumstances, and unaided by the State, they have held their own as well as they have. Even now the industry has revived and is regaining strength. If left to work out its own remedy in its own way, and if given security for its outlay of private capital, it still has confidence in its future. But the deplorable thing is that the error seems likely to be repeated. Urban interests again look to the land to enable them, not to win, but to hold the commercial supremacy which is slipping from their grasp; and politicians seem not unwilling to offer agriculture as a sacrifice to the majority in voters and in wealth.

One crying need of agriculture at the present moment is more capital both in men and money, in order to profit by more favourable conditions, to take advantage of the advance in agricultural science, and to organise itself in the best possible way against its foreign com-

petitors. For the last six years the wild talk of members of the Government has scared away capital from the land, and increased the unhealthy symptoms which they profess to cure. To some extent this threatening attitude is immediately responsible for checking the increase in agricultural employment which would have followed from a greater promise of prosperity. Though it is notoriously difficult to secure strictly accurate returns of the remuneration of labourers, Table VI will, it is believed, be found to approximate very closely to the truth at the present moment. Agricultural wages, with the exception of a set-back during 1882-1900, have been rising continuously for fifty years. They are still deplorably low, and have not advanced sufficiently to meet the recent rise in the prices of provisions. Yet, though wages remain inadequate, their rise in recent years is a satisfactory feature in the present agricultural situation. The profits of farming have been diminished since the days of its prosperity. Nor is this all. Since 1878 the capital losses of landowners have been estimated at several hundred millions of pounds; and farmers have not only suffered severely, but have uncomplainingly adopted a reduced standard of living. They have cut their coats to their cloth in the matter of personal expenses in a way which commends not only sympathy but respect. The third partner alone has improved his position. Better housed and better paid, yet working neither longer nor harder nor more skilfully than his predecessor, the agricultural labourer of to-day already enjoys an unearned but ungrudged increment in his higher rate of pay.

The low rate of wages does not explain rural depopulation, because the exodus is equally great in counties where wages are highest. Far more important as a cause of the decline in the numbers of agricultural labourers is the blind alley of agricultural employment. With the progress of education the need of a career or of a prospect of a career is increasingly felt. On many large estates it might be possible to collect instances of prosperous farmers who started in life as agricultural labourers. But, admitting that the rule has exceptions, more numerous perhaps than would be expected, it remains true to say that 'once an agricultural labourer,

always an agricultural labourer.' In other words, a young man taking employment on a farm knows that, provided he keeps his health, he will receive at fifty the same wages which he earns at twenty-two, and that those wages are too small to enable him to save sufficient for a fresh start in some more remunerative form of industry. In such circumstances it is difficult for any man to continue interested in the work which he does for an employer, or, imperfectly educated as he is, in himself. It is not surprising that, even if he is attracted to the land by his natural tastes or the traditions of his upbringing, he should endeavour to find openings elsewhere than in the cultivation of the soil of this country.

Another feature in the situation which is alleged as a symptom of the unhealthiness of agriculture under the existing system is the scarcity of houses. Such a scarcity seems so inconsistent with the demands of a dwindling rural population as to call for some explanation. It is true that the higher sanitary standard of recent years has led to the demolition of many cottages which have not been replaced. But it may be seriously doubted whether the supply of cottages to house the labour required on the land is really anything like so inadequate as it is represented. On the other hand, it is not disputed that the demand for cheap cottages in the country considerably exceeds the supply. The distinction is important, because the question is rather national than agricultural. It is part, not only of a landowner's interest, but of his duty, to provide cottages for the labour which is necessary for the cultivation of his farms. It may be his interest, but it is not his duty, to house on his land a population not employed in agriculture. It is not even his interest to build, unless he charges an economic rent for his cottages. As part of their weekly remuneration agricultural labourers obtain a reduction in the rent of their cottages; and these low rents form the chief attraction to an urban population engaged in some industry other than that of agriculture and possessed of some means of locomotion. A country cottage and a garden at from 1s. to 2s. 3d. a week are a tempting bargain for the artisan with a bicycle. This artificial cheapness undoubtedly creates a great part of

the cry for more cottages. Fix the weekly rent at its economic rate of 4s., and much of the demand would disappear.

Finally, the break-up of large landed estates, the progressive extent of which is illustrated in Table VII, is a striking feature of the day. It is, in fact, the most prominent symptom of that general sense of insecurity created by the threatening language of the present Government, which affects every class of agriculturists. In whatever light it may be regarded by the community, to tenant-farmers it is an evil of the first magnitude. Tenants on large estates enjoyed all the advantages of the present system at its best. Nominally tenants from year to year, they might count on being tenants from generation to generation. Their land was often under-rented by from 20 to 25 per cent. They were well treated in the matter of repairs and improvements. In times of distress they could look for help to their landlord. It was the owners of these estates whose liberal expenditure, encouragement, and direction materially helped to make English farming the model of Continental nations, and tided over a period of depression which would have crushed out of existence industries less generously supported.

Within the last few years the tenants on many large estates have found to their cost that their security is gone. Large landlords, in deference to the social tendencies and financial innovations of the day, are selling their land. Tenants can no longer feel absolutely safe, or venture to stretch themselves to the full extent. It is still worse when the blow actually falls and the estate is offered for sale. The tenant's energies are not merely crippled; they are temporarily paralysed. Suppose that it is decided to sell a farm which is held, as is commonly the case, by a Michaelmas letting on a yearly tenancy. The best time for selling land is June; and it is financially advantageous to offer the purchaser vacant possession on completion. Notice to quit is, therefore, often served on the sitting tenant at Michaelmas, to take effect the Michaelmas following. The notice is probably the first intimation of the intended sale, which takes place in the following June. If the purchaser happens to

buy the farm as part of his landed estate, the tenant may be obliged to make room for another man better known to the new landlord, or he may be continued at his present or at an increased rental. If the buyer is a farmer intending to occupy the farm himself, the old tenant is bound to go. On the other hand, sooner than leave the place where he has perhaps built up a business connexion, and the land of which he knows by dear-bought experience the best and the worst, he bids for the farm himself and buys. In this case he has to find the purchase-money. Tenant-farmers rarely possess more capital than is required for the cultivation of the land. The buyer, therefore, mortgages the land for two-thirds of its value, and is lucky if he gets the money at 4 per cent. The remaining third is borrowed at a higher rate of interest on his implements, live-stock, or his personal security, or eked out from the capital of which the land is robbed. The result is that he becomes the crippled owner of a farm which, for want of money, he cannot cultivate to the best advantage.

The more salient features in the present unhealthiness of agriculture have been enumerated. They resolve themselves into want of capital, both in money and labour. How to attract into the industry more men and more money is the chief problem which confronts statesmen. Political programmes are bills of legislative promises, designed rather to whet appetites than to satisfy hunger. Their primary object is to collect votes, not to meet needs. No lover of the country can wish that the Unionist party should enter into any vain competition with their Radical opponents in the construction of a vote-catching programme of agricultural reform. But, as a party, they understand the subject better than their opponents, and can command the practical knowledge which is requisite for dealing with the subject. Agriculturists are therefore justified in expecting from them a deliberate, carefully considered policy, explicit in the statement not only of what it will do, but—which is still more important—of what it will resolutely oppose.

If politicians and their competition for votes could be

eliminated, a conference of experienced business agriculturists might arrive at the best practical solution of the so-called land question. But under our system of government the common-sense course is impossible. The real interests of the agricultural community, therefore, must be more or less sacrificed to the exigencies of party. Priority naturally belongs to the Government plan; and, standing as they necessarily do within measurable distance of a General Election, they will frame it on the lines which they consider most attractive to voters, and most likely to obliterate the Insurance Act, Home Rule, and Welsh Disestablishment from the minds of the electors. On the other hand, Unionists cannot be satisfied with picking the plan of their adversaries to pieces. They must reply with their alternative policy, designed, like that of their antagonists, to save or win them seats in rural constituencies. Only the most bigoted of party men can in this 20th century suggest that these political methods of settling the future of a great and ancient industry are anything but folly.

At the present moment the Radical land campaign has not been opened. Therefore the outlines of the Government scheme can only be conjectured. The main features will probably be Wages Boards and Land Courts, which will, of course, be urged as necessary to farming, and as a means of promoting the energies and efficiency of cultivators of the soil. But behind these avowed objects lurk the further projects which have also been disclosed. The preliminary creation of this machinery of Land Courts and Wages Boards is necessary in order to isolate landowners and separate their interests from those of tenant-farmers and agricultural labourers. When once an official barrier is set up, landlords will become sleeping partners, deprived of an effective voice in the management of their estates. Their incomes, controlled by the officials of the Land Courts, will be exposed to the full brunt of the new system of rating and taxing land for which the valuation is preparing. No portion of the demands of the tax or rate collectors can be transferred to tenants by way of increased rent without the sanction of the Government officials of the Land Court. The path of land nationalisation is, by the

intervention of this machinery, made smooth and easy. Agricultural rent, thus isolated, can be eliminated by the swift or gradual process of taxation specially levied on the land; tenants and labourers can be effectively shielded from bearing any portion of the additional load thrown on the sleeping partner; commercial millionaires, relieved out of land rents from a considerable share of their burden of local and imperial taxes, and controlled by no Wages Board, can declare larger dividends without increased wages. The only sufferers will be the small class who have invested their money in the soil. For the last eighty years agriculture has been in a multitude of ways sacrificed to commerce. It seems now to be proposed to complete that sacrifice by offering up landowners on the altar of trade.

Assuming that this is the general drift of the urban Radical's land campaign, it will be necessary to say a few words on Wages Boards, Land Courts, and the Land Valuation which puts the coping stone to the new policy. It is acknowledged, even in the 'Daily News' (November 11, 1912), that 'Liberals and Socialists,' from their comparative ignorance of farming matters, need careful preparation and reading before they can satisfactorily attempt to deal with land questions. What is the preparation, and what the reading, which have been provided for members of the Government?

A secret enquiry has been held into agricultural conditions. It is probable that the results will be contained in a reasoned document, which will deserve serious attention. But its methods of compilation are altogether to be condemned. Its secrecy is a new and odious feature in English public life. There is no guarantee that the enquirers were in any way qualified for their task or experienced in sifting evidence. The points which the Chancellor of the Exchequer wished to illustrate were laid down beforehand; and everyone knows how easy it is to collect facts in support of a theory if those that tell against it are ignored. Every aggrieved tenant, every discharged labourer, every discontented Weary Willie, has been invited to pour his grievances into the ears of the Commissioners. No opportunity has been given to land-

owners to test the accuracy of the statements collected by the enquirers. If newspapers are to be believed, the Report had been drawn up and delivered many weeks before the collection of evidence was closed. None of the statements in the Report can be said to rest on proof. The voucher for their credibility is 'As people say,' or 'We have heard it stated.' Tainted by its secrecy, its accuracy untested, its authority weakened by the denial of opportunity for criticism or disproof, this novel Report remains unpublished. Such a document is in the nature of an anonymous letter, on which, in private life, no fair-minded man would ever act. It is on this material that the party gamble requires the land campaign to be launched; and it is from this brief that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will speak.

As a remedy for the present low rate of agricultural wages, Wages Boards will probably be constituted. Wages are naturally rising; and the true question to be determined is whether the intervention of a Board will accelerate or retard that rise. If the Board could secure to every agricultural labourer 52*l.* a year, the machinery would certainly be to his liking and to his advantage. But Parliament can only enact that the minimum remuneration for which a labourer shall work shall be three shillings and fourpence a day; it cannot order that he shall receive a pound a week, unless it provides the money. It can fix the lowest rate at which a man may be employed, if he is employed at all; but it cannot secure him employment for a single day, much less for a week, least of all for a year. Labourers who are employed for twenty-six weeks at a pound a week will only earn two-thirds of the amount earned by those who are employed all the year round at 15*s.* a week. This is a point which labourers will very carefully consider. It is quite certain that farmers, wherever it is possible to do so, will cease to employ their men continuously, and will only employ them as and when their services are required. The farm differs materially from the factory in this respect. The manufacturer loses more by the stoppage of a loom than he loses by raising wages. It is not so with agriculture. A man may be dismissed from permanent employment without any necessary or serious reduction in the

output. Another feature in agricultural employment makes an important difference between the farm and the factory. More 'lame dogs' are employed in farming than in any other industry. The custom of paying agricultural labour at a uniform rate of wages is, in the main, imposed by the men themselves. There are the widest differences, mental, physical, and temperamental, between the capacities of any group of ordinary labourers; yet all receive employment at the same uniform rate. Every farmer has in his service men to whom he would gladly pay an extra wage, because he knows that they are worth it. But, were he to distinguish in this fashion, he would lose the services of others who, economically, cannot be said to earn the sums that they receive, and yet at certain seasons are necessary to his industry. If agricultural labour is to be mechanically speeded up by means of a minimum wage, it will necessarily mean a ruthless weeding-out of inefficients by casual employment at the minimum wage or by piece-work, or by still further reductions in the arable area. The increased wage for individuals will be met by a diminution of the wages paid per acre.

Farmers cannot, of course, dispense with the continuous employment of horsemen, cattlemen, and shepherds; but, except in the south-western counties, the remuneration of these classes already equals the proposed minimum wage. Among ordinary labourers—the class which a Wages Board is most designed to help—one effect will certainly be to decrease the number of those who are permanently employed, and to swell the ranks of casual labourers. If any land remains which can be profitably converted into grass, it will be laid down, with a consequent loss of employment and of wages per acre. Obviously the action of the Board, if it is effective, will raise the cost of production and thus neutralise the inducement to increase the arable area which is given by the advance in price. Whatever else the Board may do, therefore, it will not increase employment; the tendency will be the opposite. Another necessary result will be to render work and wages more precarious and uncertain for a great number of men past the prime of life. To some extent a Wages Board might counteract

this difficulty by allowing different scales of remuneration for men whose physical fitness is impaired. But, if this is done, a new difficulty is created. An extremely skilful adjustment is needed if the cheap inefficient are not to supplant the dearer efficient. Wages Boards will also have to deal with piece-work. Rates of piece-work vary with different crops. They also vary with different districts, with individual farms in each district, and from day to day with the condition of the soil. To these complications must be added those which will necessarily arise from differentiating between the fit and the unfit. Rates of piece-work must be fixed by a high standard of efficiency. Below that standard a large number of men must fall; and, if they are not to be denied employment, elaborate scales of payment, proportioned to varying degrees of inefficiency, must be arranged. Where market-gardening extensively prevails, there will be, during certain seasons of the year, daily occupation for the Board, whose members will therefore have to be paid. It is doubtful whether the agricultural labourer will relish paying men of his own class to fix the rates of wages which he is himself to receive. It is certain that he will often think that he could have done better for himself. Friction, suspicion, and discontent, together with a considerable displacement of labour, and some deterioration in its conditions, will inevitably follow in the train of an attempt to fix wages by Act of Parliament and official interference.

It will be argued that the Wages Board is only part of the new machinery, and that the creation of a Land Court will assist the Board in its task of raising wages. That is to say, farmers will know that, if the cost of production is increased by raising wages, the Land Court can, and probably will, proportionately reduce the rent arising from the land. Therefore farmers, having the pockets of landlords to draw on for their labour-bills, will be lavish with the wages of labourers whom it is their interest to conciliate. How far this argument will operate as an inducement to employers it is impossible to say. That it may have some weight in certain quarters is probable enough. But farmers, as a whole, will scarcely run the risk until they have made certain

of being recouped from rent-reductions for their additional outlay.

Looked at from an agricultural point of view, and regarding want of capital as one chief cause of the sickness of agriculture, the establishment of Land Courts at first sight seems to be no blessing, but an added curse. For the future, instead of the capital of both landlord and tenant being embarked in the industry, the supply of capital from the landlord will be cut off. How then will Land Courts provide the additional capital in men and money which is the crying need of agriculture? Security of tenure conferred by Land Courts will, it is promised, not only make good the new deficit which it causes, but convert the deficiency into a new and substantial balance. Legal machinery generally succeeds better at subtraction than at addition. This new machine, therefore, seems to possess almost magical properties. Unfortunately no one can yet predict with any certainty its constitution and powers. We can only judge by analogy. Land Courts have been already established both in Ireland and Scotland. It is the latter precedent (Scottish Land Acts, 1886 and 1911) which will probably be followed. In other words, 'fixity of tenure' and 'fair rents,' but not 'free sale,' will be the essence of the new lease, guaranteed by the Land Courts, which is to pour fresh capital into our impoverished agriculture.

In the Highlands of Scotland, crofters who had built cottages, and reduced land to cultivation mainly by their own capital, were liable to have their rents raised on the improvements which their own money had effected, or to be evicted from their holdings. To meet these grievances the Crofters Act of 1886 was passed. Applying only to crofts which did not exceed 30% in rental value, it established a Land Court of three members, empowered to fix and periodically to revise rents, determine claims for compensation, and, for certain specified objects, to sanction resumption of land by landlords, subject to such compensation as the Court might fix. The principle was subsequently extended in 1911 to the Lowlands of Scotland, where agricultural conditions more closely resemble those of England than do those of the Highlands. It was at the same time extended to small holdings, where the

landlord himself has paid for the greater part of the buildings and other permanent improvements. Small holders of this class are called 'statutory small tenants.' It is their position which will probably be reproduced in the proposed land legislation. English tenant-farmers will be transformed into 'statutory tenants.'

Under the Scottish Land Act, 1911, the Court fixes and periodically revises the rent. So long as the rent is punctually paid, the land properly cultivated, the buildings maintained in repair, the statutory tenant cannot be disturbed. But he cannot sublet the holding or any part of it; and his bankruptcy voids the tenancy. As to what is proper cultivation, or what constitutes dilapidation, the decision of the Land Court is final, and there is no appeal. On the other hand, the owner of the land may resume possession, if he satisfies the Court that his purpose is reasonable, on payment of the compensation that they determine. His mining and sporting rights are preserved. The statutory tenant, in fact, would stand where tenant-farmers stand to-day on well-managed estates. But the personal relation with the landlord would be gone, as well as his financial assistance.

Nor are these the only losses which tenant-farmers have to fear. It is common knowledge that something like half the land of England is rented at from 20 to 25 per cent. below its economic value. A rise in rent is therefore a risk which many tenant-farmers will have to face. Another danger is this. To the political land-reformer, the large tenant-farmer is as much anathema as the landlord. One of the avowed objects of Land Courts is to facilitate the creation of small holdings. If the tribunal is satisfied that there is a demand for small holdings, and if, in the interest of sitting tenants, owners refuse to cut up farms, the Court may override that refusal, evict the farmer, and adapt the land for small tenancies with the help of public money. Thus with one breath the creation of Land Courts is advocated, because the fixity of tenure will encourage tenants to an additional expenditure of capital and energy; in the next breath the fixity of tenure is proved to be a delusion, because it may at any moment be overridden by the demand for the conversion of a farm into small holdings. Statutory

tenants are invited to sacrifice the landowners' help, financial and otherwise, for a security of tenure which two-thirds of them already enjoy with the addition of that assistance; but, when they have made the sacrifice, and accepted Land Courts as their real landlords, they will find that they have only exposed themselves to a new insecurity, against which they have no possible means of protecting themselves.

To agriculture generally, Land Courts mean a loss of capital; to some tenant-farmers a rise in rent; and to the whole class, not being small holders, an added insecurity. That the machinery may have been necessary, where, as in Ireland or the Highlands, the reclamation of the land and the erection of the buildings had been effected by the capital of the tenants, is admitted. Its success in encouraging the expenditure of small crofters, who depend for their livelihood on other resources besides the cultivation of the soil, is not disputed. But neither its necessity nor its success has yet been established in the case of statutory small tenants, who occupy land which has been prepared for cultivation and equipped with buildings by the money of the landlord. In the case of larger tenant-farmers, two-thirds of whom already enjoy more real security of tenure than Land Courts will give them, and command financial assistance of which Land Courts will deprive them, the experiment is entirely new, and, from a farming point of view, unjustifiable. The real objects in view are political and social, not agricultural.

Much stress is laid at the present day on the monopoly of power which landed property confers on its owner, on the social amenities of landed estates, and on the fictitious value which their possession gives to land. These are points which will doubtless be urged with exaggerated passion during the coming campaign, and illustrated by lurid examples from the secret enquiry to which we have already referred. It is to be hoped, though previous experience scarcely warrants the expectation, that the chief spokesman will remember his recent advice to the Brecknockshire school-children :

'If anything is worth quoting at all, it is worth quoting correctly, and I am sure it applies to God's Word. Let it be

one of your mottoes in life not to be slipshod in anything, but to cultivate exactness even in details.'

Optimists may be able to believe that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will guide his statements by his own advice. But it seems equally likely that, during the coming campaign, these features in the ownership of land will be distorted beyond all recognition. The urban public will be offered high-coloured pictures of rural life to-day, such as Mirabeau might have painted of feudal France before the Revolution if his material had been supplied to him by a secret enquiry. Yet the true fact is that the so-called social amenities of landed property are fast dying away. They are not now comparable with the advantages which the money of a successful man of business can command. Acres no longer confer social position or local influence. Landed estates cease to change hands as a whole. They are broken up and sold in parts. A farm of three hundred acres enjoys no social amenity which can artificially inflate a price that is calculated at so many years' purchase of the net annual value. It enjoys no monopoly beyond that which is required for the successful cultivation of crops. No such costly engine as a Land Court is required to destroy the few vestiges which may remain of almost extinct conditions. The rare abuses of the existing system can be safely left to time, to the boycott of ill-managed estates by tenant-farmers, and to the progress of public opinion. If need be, they can be met by special legislation.

Preached to farmers as a remedy for agricultural sickness, and to politicians and social reformers as a scourge for the backs of the landed aristocracy, Land Courts will be offered to the Land Values, Single Tax, and Land Nationalisation groups as exactly the weapon which they need. So it is. Indeed, the instrument is so inappropriate to the first object, and so admirably adapted to the last two, that its real purpose seems to stand revealed. If rents are to be fixed and periodically revised by a Land Court, that tribunal can effectively prevent landowners from passing on to their tenants a single penny of their increased rates and taxes. Establish Land Courts, and the gradual or rapid appropriation of rent by the State is simple.

In the first stage, use will be made of the valuation now in progress. On that subject much might be written. Here, however, it is enough to notice that the original object was to discover the prairie value of the land—the inherent indestructible properties of the soil—which, it was contended, could not be the subject of private ownership, and might, therefore, with justice be appropriated by the State as the property of the nation. The three elements of this natural value would be the quality of the soil, its accessibility, and its proximity to water. Estimated on this principle, the average annual value of the cultivated area of Great Britain, neglecting Tithe, Land Tax, and Fee Farm Rents, would probably work out at something considerably under ten million pounds a year. If the whole of this were claimed by the State, it would not go far to meet the annual charge of rates, to say nothing of the taxes. Some different method had to be devised which gave more satisfactory results. Prairie value was thrown over; and the valuation now in progress claims to include the lion's share of man-made values as the datum line of its financial innovations, and the basis of the new methods of rating and taxation of capital. As no intelligible principle has been followed in the process, the valuation itself affords no permanent barrier against the larger demands of the future.

This forecast of the Radical programme of land reform is necessarily conjectural. Up to the time of writing the secret has been well kept. But we may be reasonably certain that the land question will be primarily approached from the social and political standpoint, and only secondarily from that of agriculture. It will, that is to say, address itself to the destruction of the existing fabric of rural society as a first step towards the increased productiveness of the soil and its maintenance of a larger population. In the vague language of the day, the Radical object is to 'strike off the fetters of feudalism,' and to rivet on the land the shackles of State officialism. In more definite words, it is to deprive landowners of effective control over the management of their properties and of the incomes which they yield, and

to entrust it to a salaried staff of officials who will administer both property and income for the supposed benefit of the community, urban as well as rural. The immediate effect of the creation of Land Courts will be to render land estates unsaleable as a whole by their present owners. No one would buy a precarious rent-charge. Nominally, rights of property will be respected, and only the fictitious values of social amenities eliminated. In this way the new machinery will be commended to those half-hearted Radicals who still shrink from avowed confiscation by Act of Parliament. But the real result will be to hand over landowners like sheep to the shearer, bound and helpless.

The Unionist policy will, it is to be hoped, be more moderate, and framed from a different stand-point. It will aim at utilising to the full all the existing resources of agriculture, instead of cutting off one of the most important in the hope of creating some indefinite substitute. It will direct its attention first to the symptoms of sickness in the agricultural industry, in order that, by curing them, it may increase the output of the soil and enable the land to maintain in greater comfort a larger number of people. No Unionist can venture to predict with confidence the future of farming, since, of all industries, it is the most uncertain and the most dependent on forces beyond human control. Still less can he promise that any social and political innovations will certainly create for rural life not only a new heaven but a new earth. Whatever changes he introduces must be tentative and experimental. Agriculturists are among the poorest classes in the community, and it is the very poor whom mistakes hit the hardest. It is because the Unionist knows most on the subject that he can promise the least. His programme ought to be, and, it is hoped, will be, humdrum and featureless, as compared with the more eventful bill of fare proposed in the Radical prospectus. There are still people who would rather travel a long journey on a coach-wheel than on a St Catherine's wheel.

It is doubtful whether wheat prices will ever again fall to their former low level. The United States, instead of supplying us with wheat, are on the eve of competing

with us as purchasers of the surplus supply which foreign countries put on the world's markets. There are similar signs that beef will not be further reduced in price. Great Britain cannot, therefore, afford to discontinue growing as much corn and meat as she can at home. A farm of between 150 and 300 acres is still the most effective factory of corn as well as of beef and mutton. Radical spokesmen, while advocating the application of commercial methods to agriculture, aim at breaking up the agricultural factories, which are organised on the same lines as commercial enterprises, into a number of domestic businesses disciplined by State officials. While urban traders combine for more effective development, Radical reformers seek to compel agriculturists to decentralise. Politically and socially, the step may be advantageous; but agriculturally, so far as the staple products of farming are concerned, it is a retrogression. Without large farms, which include land of poor, fair and good quality, and so average the whole, much of the poor soil of the country would fall out of cultivation, especially where ready means of transport are not available. The point is important in any estimate of the cost of the land policy of the Unionists. It effectively proves that they contemplate no colossal and extravagant change. No scheme for the universal substitution of owners for occupiers is put forward; no comparison is possible with the policy adopted in Ireland; no large demands will be made on the public purse.

Unionists therefore recognise that farms of the size usually occupied by tenant-farmers are indispensable, and in the future likely to become more indispensable, to British agriculture, as the most efficient agencies for the cultivation of varying qualities of soil and for the wholesale production of bread and meat. But they also recognise that farmers of this type extract less from the soil than they ought. Prices are favourable. Why, then, is the land not worked to its fullest capacity?

The answer is that, so far as agricultural land is at the present moment undeveloped or not fully worked, this is mainly due to the state of anxiety, uncertainty, and sense of insecurity, which the present Government has created. Ask where you will among those whose daily

business is agriculture, in any of its various branches, and that is the answer which would be given. If the 3,500,000 acres, which have been laid down to grass in days of unremunerative prices, were again brought under the plough, the yield of corn, the demand for labour, and the amount of wages paid per acre would be increased. At the prices which now prevail and seem likely to continue, this addition to the arable area might be profitably made, if a halt were definitely called in the process of increasing the fiscal burden on agricultural land, and if landlords and tenants were relieved from the dread that their capital would in one form or another be appropriated by the State. It is the labourers who suffer most from this attitude of the Government. Were the plough once more driven through thousands of acres of poor grass-land, wages would necessarily rise, not only per acre, but for individuals. The scarcity of labour would make itself felt. When two farmers compete for one man, the man is, in his bargainings for pay, the real master. And the employers could afford the extra wage; for the profits of average corn-land, so long as prices are remunerative, exceed those of all but the best and most favourably situated grass. Such a rise of wages, produced by the natural laws of supply and demand, would reach the ordinary labourer, who most needs it, more generally and more certainly than any rise artificially created by the operations of Wage Boards.

Here, then, is the first point in the Unionist policy—the restoration of confidence. The party is already pledged to oppose any further increase in the fiscal burdens on land. But complete confidence can only be re-established by the definite assertion of principles. It will only increase the alarm, if Unionists, in the vain hope of outbidding their opponents in indefinite promises, break up the unity of the party by coquetting with the socialistic tendencies of the day.

But there is one form of insecurity against which tenant-farmers need protection; and it is part of the Unionist policy to give it. When farms are offered for sale, tenant-farmers are faced with a choice of two evils. They must either quit or buy. Where a farmer wishes to buy his holding, Unionists propose that the State

should advance the whole of the purchase money on a reducible mortgage, the loan being paid off in annual instalments. No deposit will be asked for. The purchaser keeps his capital intact and free for employment in the land. The land is the security for the loan. Till the last annual instalment is paid, the State retains its mortgage. The risk of loss is infinitesimal; and, after the first two annual instalments have been paid, it becomes altogether negligible. An ordinary mortgage, where the loan remains the same throughout the whole term, may be endangered by a fall in capital values; but, in the case of a reducible mortgage, the loan undergoes a reduction every year. The action of the Sinking Fund safeguards the capital of the loan. And, while the State is thus secured, the purchaser obtains two great advantages which practically he can only obtain by the aid of the State. He borrows at a lower rate of interest than any private lender can afford, and he repays the loan by instalments—a method of payment which no private vendor could as a matter of business accept. Yet, for these two advantages, he makes the same annual payment which he would pay as a tenant by way of rent. A concrete example will illustrate the point.

A farm of 100 acres, fully equipped with the necessary buildings, is worth 1*l.* an acre. There are also payable 4*l.* of tithe, 2*l.* land tax, and 14*l.* repairs. The gross annual payment is 120*l.* and the net annual value is 100*l.* The land is for sale, and the tenant wishes to buy. The State lends him the necessary purchase money at 3½ per cent, and in addition requires annual payments to a Sinking Fund which repay the principal within a period of years. In all cases the interest is the same; but, if the occupier wishes to pay no more than the rent which he at present pays, the payment to the Sinking Fund will vary with the purchase price, and the period over which repayment is spread will be shorter or longer. Suppose that the land fetches twenty years' purchase of the 100*l.* which is the net annual value. The price paid is 2000*l.* The State lends the money at 3½ per cent. = 70*l.* The occupier pays to the Sinking Fund 1½ per cent. = 30*l.* In 35 years he has paid off the whole loan, and is complete owner. If the land fetches 22 years' purchase, then the State advances 2200*l.*,

the interest on which is 77*l*. The occupier pays 1·10 per cent. to the Sinking Fund, pays off the loan, and becomes owner in 42 years. If the land fetches 25 years' purchase, or 2500*l*., the occupier pays 50 per cent. to the Sinking Fund, and becomes owner in 60 years. If the occupier, at any time during the process of repayment, decided to repay the whole remainder of the loan or to reduce the total still outstanding by payment of a capital sum, the transaction could be arranged on actuarial terms. It is on this system of reducible mortgage that the Duke of Bedford has sold land for small holdings. But one feature in those lettings is worthy of notice. The small holders were offered their choice between repayment by a fixed annual sum, as in the concrete example given above, or by annual instalments. The latter, though slightly higher at the beginning of the term, are reduced very rapidly after half the payments have been made, and during the last two or three years amount to a few shillings only. In spite of the high initial payments the holders preferred the annual instalment system. It obviously affords the best security for any public body which advances public money. On the other hand, the Dutch system, successfully applied in forming small holdings in Sweden, has the undoubted merit of helping occupiers in early years by making the initial instalments light and increasing them as the small holder becomes firmly established.

One substantial grievance of tenant-farmers remains. In case of a sale their high farming tells against them. If a sitting tenant has improved his farm by a continuous course of good husbandry, the selling price is raised, and as a purchaser he is penalised. His next-door neighbour, by underfarming his land, buys a cheap bargain. The case rarely occurs; and it is difficult to frame any clause which will meet the point equitably. But, in order to complete the security of the tenant-farmer, the point demands the serious attention of Unionist land-reformers. If farmers regain their confidence, are protected from the risk of heavier financial burdens, and are safeguarded against sales of their farms in the manner proposed, every circumstance is favourable to a considerable revival of the industry, an extended breadth of arable cultivation,

an increased output of corn and meat, more agricultural employment and higher wages. The change which is proposed by the Unionists is slight; it disturbs no interests, violates no principles, confiscates no property, encourages the old virtues of self-reliance and independence. Yet it goes far towards the cure of some of the unhealthy symptoms of agriculture. Is it prudent to adopt, in the place of a simple and effective remedy, the dangerous surgical operation proposed by the Radical Land Courts, which will certainly kill one of the agricultural classes without any certainty of curing the others?

For the reasons given, farms of the size usually occupied by tenant-farmers must, for many years to come, preponderate in this country. But, in some kinds of produce, where land and situation are suitable, the agricultural output might be increased by the intensive labour which small holders bring to bear upon the soil; and a large admixture of such occupations is, therefore, not only socially but economically advantageous. In suitable localities, the extension of small holdings—by which is meant occupations not exceeding 50 acres in extent or 50% in annual value, which are cultivated by the holders as the main business of their lives—is one of the main planks in the Unionist land platform. Radical land-reformers, taking perhaps an urban view of the subject, seem to think that the establishment of such small holdings is everywhere possible, and that they are therefore a panacea for agricultural and social evils. But countrymen have learned from bitter experience that occupations of this kind are not universally profitable. Agricultural labourers would not look at a heavy clay holding, four miles from the nearest station, if they were expected to extract from it their only livelihood.

With this difference between the two parties, both advocate the extension of small holdings. But, while Unionists desire to create occupying ownerships, Radicals have adopted the principle of occupying tenancies under public bodies. Both parties contemplate the use of public money for their establishment. But, while Radicals advance money to the County Council for the purchase of land to be adapted for small holdings,

Unionists propose to make the advance to the small holders themselves. Both parties agree that the loan should be paid off by annual instalments spread over a term of years. But Radicals charge the instalments in the rent, so that the tenants buy the land for the County Council. Unionists, on the other hand, include the instalments in the small holder's annual payments, so that, when the loan is paid off, he is himself the absolute owner of the occupation.

A concrete example will illustrate the actual working of the two principles. It will be noticed that, under the Radical plan, the County Council charges a higher rent per acre than the net annual value, and that the tenant by extinguishing the debt buys the land not for himself but for the Council. Under the Unionist plan, the holder, making the same or a slightly smaller payment, buys the land for himself.

An estate in a market garden district is bought by a County Council, and adapted for small holdings, at a total expenditure of 18,000*l.* The whole sum is advanced by the State at 3½ per cent., repayable in annual instalments. The example need not be complicated by detailing the varying periods at which portions of the loan raised for buildings or for road-making are to be repaid. The whole loan is to be extinguished in 80 years. The interest comes to 630*l.* a year, and the annual instalments to 112*l.* The two payments together amount to 742*l.* How does the County Council find the money? It charges it in rent to the small tenants. But there are other items included in the rent. There is 210*l.* a year for management expenses, and for the margin against possible loss which the Council is bound to allow for the protection of the rate-payers. There is 80*l.* for repairs, insurance and contingencies. There is also a tithe of 30*l.* a year which is charged to the tenants proportionately. The total rent is 1062*l.* a year, nearly three-quarters of which consists of interest and instalments of principal. At the end of 80 years, the loans are extinguished. The County Council, by the payments of its tenants, becomes the absolute owner of the land; and the tenants remain what they were when they began—rent-paying occupiers. They get neither the land they have bought, nor

the money they have paid. The County Council keeps both. How are the tenants better off than before?

Assuming the same facts, it is easy to show the working of the Unionist plan. The State advances the 18,000*l.* in its proper proportions to the individual holders, *without any deposit*, each man paying the interest on his share of the loan at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and annual instalments at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The annual payment for interest and repayment of principal is therefore 900*l.* a year. Adding the tithe (30*l.*) and 80*l.* for repairs, insurance and contingencies, the total annual payment is 1010*l.*, or slightly less than the rent of 1062*l.* charged by the County Council. But in 35 years the loan will have been extinguished, and the men will have bought the land for themselves. A man who was 30 years of age when he entered on the occupation has uncharged ownership in sight. He pays the money, but he keeps the land.

The superior fairness of the Unionist plan and the superior advantages offered to the holder are obvious. Nor has he to wait thirty-five years for its benefits to begin. On the day when the State loan is effected, the man is owner, subject to the payment of the interest and instalments. If the holder was offered ownership at the end of a long period of years which he might never live to see, and was told of the value of the transaction to his posterity, he might reply with rustic shrewdness: 'Posterity has done nothing for me; why should I do anything for posterity?' The advantages begin at once. He cannot receive a notice to quit; he cannot have the rent raised on his improvements; every turn of his spade brings him nearer to uncharged ownership. If he stays on the land, it grows more valuable every year, to him, not to the County Council. He can sell the land if he likes, and the measure of its value to him is the number of instalments which he has paid. He can leave it by will, or exercise any other right of ownership, except that of mortgaging. It is his insurance, his savings bank, his burial fund, his provision for his wife and family, his annual investment at compound interest.

This, then, is the Unionist plan for the extension of Small Holdings. It is not intended entirely to supplant occupying tenancies. But, wherever the purchase price

of land by the County Council makes the transaction feasible, the plan would be at once applied to all holdings already created under the Small Holdings Act. In other words, the existing tenants of County Council land would be converted into occupying owners, and the annual instalments which they have paid by way of rent would be credited to their account in repayment of their loans. Given two men of similar character, owners will get more value out of land than tenants; and the Unionist plan not only promises a larger output from the land but redresses a real injustice.

So far the Unionist policy has been outlined only in respect to tenant-farmers, and to occupying owners who are prepared to make the cultivation of their freeholds the main business of their lives. But, though increased production will indirectly provide more employment and better wages, no direct improvement has been suggested for the condition of ordinary agricultural labourers, who form the majority of the rural population.

A country village at the present day affords scarcely any opportunity to its inhabitants of bettering their position. Men have no openings, no chance of trying their fortunes. Existence becomes listless, monotonous, narrow. Something must be done to bring new hopes, new interests, new prospects into village life, if young, energetic and vigorous men are to be attracted to the cultivation of the soil. Experience shows that higher wages are not attraction enough. It is, without any exaggeration, probably true that a Saturday half-holiday would be a greater inducement to stay on the land than an extra 1s. 6d. a week. The rural exodus is as great where wages are high as where they are low. Some other change is needed. The reconstruction of village life must be taken in hand by the Unionists. The labourer to-day *owns* practically nothing. His livelihood itself is precarious. He holds not only his employment and wages, but his home, at a week's notice from his employer. He is not in a position to drive a bargain; and his helplessness and hopelessness are too often reflected in the quality of his work. Give him the chance of owning something, and something which appeals to his

sentiment, and he will become morally as well as physically a stronger man. He will stand more firmly on his feet. Whatever station men occupy in life, they cherish some affection for the place where they began their married life and where their children were born, and some wish to end their days under the same roof among friendly faces. The Unionist policy will, it is hoped, consider this feeling, which is peculiarly strong among country folk, and, in using State credit for the purpose of rural housing, will apply the same principle which has been already explained with regard to occupying ownerships. Public money is to be advanced, as Unionists suggest, at cheap rates to build cheap cottages with garden ground of twenty poles attached. According to the Radical plan, the money would be advanced to public bodies, and repaid by annual instalments, charged, together with the interest, in rent to the occupier. The same injustice would be done to the tenant of the cottage as is now inflicted, under the Small Holdings Act, on tenants of County Council land. He will buy the cottage for the public body, not for himself. At the expiration of the term, he will get neither his money nor his home. He will only be the tenant, never the owner. With reasonable care and safeguards the money might, by the Unionist plan, be advanced direct to the occupier as owner; and he would own his cottage and garden on the same principle and with the same limitations as the occupier of the small holding. No boon would be more valued by agricultural labourers and their wives. None would give such general encouragement and opportunity to thrift. None would add more to their self-respect, dignity and independence. In the care of a home there is indisputably a magic in property.

Ownership of cottages and gardens is the lowest rung in the agricultural ladder. It is within the reach of all. The mistake has often been made of putting the first rung too high for the class whom it is desired to help. The second step upwards would be the provision, in positions conveniently close to the village, of allotments, small occupations, and, whenever possible, common cow or horse pastures. Here, too, the principle of a State loan at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., repayable by annual instalments,

would be adopted. The land would be purchased and held either by groups of individuals or by some public body on behalf of the village. If the latter, the annual instalments would be spread over a longer period of years, because one generation cannot be fairly burdened with the purchase of public land for the benefit of another. No village exactly resembles another in its requirements; each has its special wants. But by these and similar means a career and a prospect of advancement would be opened out to labourers. By them the opportunity would be afforded to villagers of supplementing their earnings, and, in favourable circumstances, of saving the capital required for the purchase of a cow or for the occupation of larger areas. By them also would be met the need for a supply of milk, often more difficult to procure in country districts than in towns, and yet invaluable for the health of children. By them, finally, young people might gain in the early years that love and knowledge of country pursuits without which they wander aimlessly into town.

It is hoped that Unionists will recognise the necessity of thus making the land of more general use to the community, and will include in their land policy measures for reconstructing the life of villages on these lines. It is a matter which vitally concerns, not only agricultural prosperity, but national efficiency. Owners and tenants of land in the immediate neighbourhood of villages will be called upon to make sacrifices. But, so long as private property is only interfered with in the public interest, and adequate compensation is given for the surrender of rights, no owner can reasonably complain. If land is to be bought for the benefit of the village, the Parish Council, set in motion by the Parish Meeting, suggests itself as the appropriate body to raise loans for its acquisition, for the administration of allotments and small occupations, and for the regulation of commons. It may be objected that Parish Councils already possess powers which they refuse to use, and that, by the neglect of their opportunities, they count for nothing in rural life. But, with larger and more real powers, vitally affecting the material interests of the villagers, they may, and probably would, rise to their position and

responsibilities. The experiment deserves a trial. If Parish Councils did rise to their new and important duties, the gain to the rural community would be immense. The management of their own landed property is one of the best educations that could be offered to the villagers.

Framed on these lines, the Unionist land policy would embrace all classes of the rural community. Agricultural labourers, owning their own cottages and gardens, and enjoying rights of pasture common, would have before them new hopes and new interests. Men, who are already more favourably circumstanced, would find, as occupying owners of small holdings, progressive opportunities of advancement. Farmers, secure of their position, whether as tenants or as owners, would dare to stretch themselves to the full extent. Landowners, regaining confidence in their investment, would again embark capital in the common venture of farming. The need of agriculture for more men and more money would be satisfied. The land would yield more produce and support a larger and more contented population. In this revival, improved methods of rural education, credit banks, and co-operation—especially that form which takes the shape of farm villages and is so ably described by Mr Tollemache—would play their part with the financial aid of the State and the hearty support of the Unionist party.

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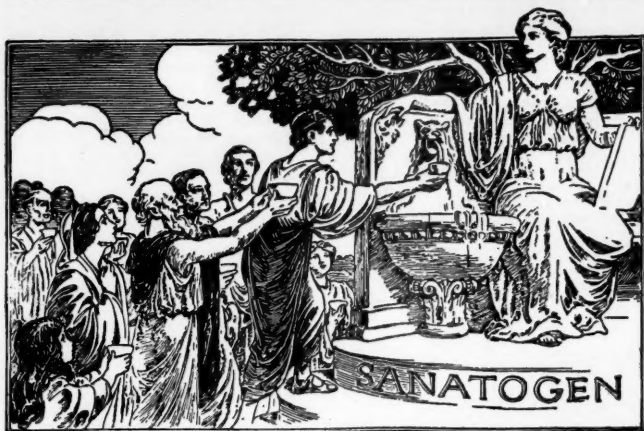
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